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DR. PUSEY

TO

EDWARD FRANCIS RUSSELL

OF S. ALBAN'S, HOLBORN

WHO THROUGH ALL CHANGES AND CHANCES

HAS GIVEN ME MORE THAN

A BROTHER'S LOVE

002095

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CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY—EDUCATION—GERMANY.

"'Your ancient house!' no more.—I cannot see
The wondrous merits of a pedigree:
What boots it, on the lineal tree to trace,
Through many a branch, the founders of your race?" [1]

THIS is the question with which, in its Latin guise, Dr. Liddon headed his genealogical study of the Bouveries and the Puseys. He answered it by recording his belief that "when God forms a human life to do some appointed task, His preparatory action may be traced in the circumstances of hereditary descent not less clearly than in other provisions of Nature or of Grace."

The scope of the present book forbids us to follow Dr. Liddon's footsteps as he tracks Pusey's ancestry, from its mythical beginnings, down through seven centuries of English and Continental history. Here it must suffice to say that the Bouveries were a family of Flemish extraction, and that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, some of them were settled at the village of Sainghin, near Lille. One of these was Laurence Bouverie, born in 1542, who became a Protestant, and, discreetly

[1] Juvenal, Sat. viii; tr. by W. Gifford.

retiring before the advance of Alva, emigrated to England in or about the year 1567. This Laurence settled in Kent, where he found himself congenially surrounded by various groups of French and Dutch refugees. Presently the Bouveries, de Bouveries, de la Bouveries, or des Bouveries (for so variously they spelt their name) migrated to London, and became Turkey Merchants, citizens, and Churchmen. A generation later, they were Members of Parliament, Knights, and Baronets. They acquired large estates in Kent and in Wiltshire, and took an active part in politics as supporters of Sir Robert Walpole. In 1747 Sir Jacob Bouverie was created Viscount Folkestone; in 1765 his son, the second Viscount, was advanced to the Earldom of Radnor; and he was great-great-grandfather of the present Earl. The first Lord Folkestone had a numerous family, one of whom, the Hon. Philip Bouverie (1746-1828) assumed the name of Pusey on succeeding to the estate of Pusey, in the Vale of White Horse, and became the father of Edward Bouverie Pusey.

For at least seven centuries a race called Pewse or Pusey owned the place which is called by the same name; but whether the family took that name from the land, or the land from the family, it seems impossible to discover. The present Squire of Pusey (Dr. Pusey's nephew) possesses among his heirlooms a curious relic—an ox's horn, mounted in silver gilt. Tradition says, but history denies, that this horn was given, together with certain lands in the Vale of White Horse, by Canute to one of his officers,

William Pewse, and that the possession of it is the tenure by which the lands of Pusey have been always held. A brilliant and popular writer,[1] himself born in the same district, thus describes the country which was, and is, the Puseys' native land:—"What a hill is the White Horse Hill! There it stands right up above all the rest, nine hundred feet above the sea, and the boldest, bravest shape for a chalk hill that you ever saw. Let us go up to the top of him, and see what is to be found there. . . . It is a magnificent Roman Camp, and no mistake, with gates, and ditch, and mounds, all as complete as it was twenty years after the strong old rogues left it. Here, right up on the highest point, from which they say you can see eleven counties, they trenched round all the table-land, some twelve or fourteen acres, as was their custom, for they couldn't bear anybody to overlook them, and made their eyrie. The ground falls away rapidly on all sides. . . . It is altogether a place that you won't forget—a place to open a man's soul and make him prophesy, as he looks down on that great Vale spread out as the Garden of the Lord before him, and wave on wave of the mysterious downs.

"And now we leave the Camp, and descend towards the west, and are on the Ash-down. We are treading on heroes. It is sacred ground for Englishmen, more sacred than all but one or two fields where their bones lie whitening. For this is the actual place where our Alfred won his great battle, the battle of

[1] Thomas Hughes.

Ash-down ('Æscendum' in the chroniclers) which broke the Danish power, and made England a Christian land. . . . After which crowning mercy, the pious King, that there might never be wanting a sign and a memorial to the country-side, carved out on the northern side of the chalk hill, under the Camp, where it is almost precipitous, the great Saxon 'White Horse,' which he who will may see from the railway, and which gives its name to the Vale, over which it has looked these thousand years and more. . . .

"If I once begin about the Vale, what's to stop me? You'll have to hear all about Wantage, the birth-place of Alfred, and Faringdon, which held out so long for Charles the First (the Vale was near Oxford, and dreadfully 'malignant'; full of Throgmortons, Puseys, Pyes, and such like, and their brawny retainers). Did you ever read Thomas Ingoldsby's *Legend of Hamilton Tighe?* Well, Faringdon is where he lived, before he went to sea; his real name was Hampden Pye, and the Pyes were the great folk at Faringdon. Then there's Pusey. You've heard of the Pusey Horn, which King Canute gave to the Puseys of that day, and which the gallant old Squire, lately gone to his rest (whom Berkshire Freeholders turned out of last Parliament,[1] to their eternal disgrace, for voting according to his conscience[2]), used to

[1] Written in 1857.

[2] Dr. Pusey, writing in 1879, gave this interesting account of his elder brother:—"He saw, long before others, that the Corn Laws must be repealed. There was something to say for them; for land had burdens

bring out on high days, holidays, and bonfire nights."

In the country thus graphically described, the Puseys lived a prosperous but uneventful life till 1789, when they came to an end in an ancient spinster, Jane Allen Pusey. This lady, who outlived all her kinsfolk, had been much attached to the wife of her deceased brother, John Pusey, and this circumstance determined the devolution of the Pusey estates. Mrs. John Pusey had been by birth Jane Bouverie; she was sister of the first Lord Folkestone, and aunt of

---

which no other sort of property had. Besides the Tithes and the Poor-rates, there was the Malt-tax. But my brother saw, long before others, that such a cry as 'Cheap Bread' could not, and ought not to, be resisted. He saw that the farmers were not prepared for the change, and gave his fine mind to prepare them. He gave up his literary tastes, and set himself to the study of manures and crops. . . . You will remember how he took the hungry or boggy land in two parishes for his experiments, leaving the more remunerative land to his tenants; and how he accumulated, at much expense, agricultural instruments, because he knew that he ought to try first what he recommended. Being an early riser myself, I saw him go to work at six a.m., as I used, when staying at Pusey, to go to mine. . . . The then farmers were ungrateful, though mistaken; for my brother lost his seat for the County for voting against a Bill which every one of clear mind knew would be a dead letter as soon as it should receive the Royal Assent—the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. However, the farmers did not see this; so my brother lost his seat, which he prized very much, for opposing a Bill which, when passed, *did* remain a dead letter for a decent number of years, and then was, with the consent of all, repealed. The Berkshire farmers would have acted more wisely had they trusted him."

the Hon. Philip Bouverie, who has been already mentioned. Through this connexion, young Philip Bouverie became known to Miss Jane Allen Pusey, who chose him for her heir. He took the name of Pusey (in lieu of his own) in 1784; succeeded to the property in 1789; and married in 1798 Lady Lucy Cave, daughter of the fourth Earl of Harborough, and widow of Sir Thomas Cave.

Mr. and Lady Lucy Pusey had four sons and five daughters. The eldest son, Philip, became the "gallant old Squire" whom Mr. Hughes commemorated. He was born in 1799 and died in 1855. The second son was the subject of the present sketch. He was born at Pusey House on August 22, 1800, was baptized by the names of "Edward Bouverie" on Holy Cross Day next ensuing, and died on September 16, 1882. A brief epitome of that long life must now be attempted.

When Edward Bouverie Pusey was born, his father was fifty-four years old; a high-minded and benevolent man, but reserved and austere. Lady Lucy Pusey was twenty-four years younger, and Mr. Pusey wisely left the education of his little boys very much in their mother's hands. Lady Lucy was born in 1771, and lived till 1858. She could remember the last of the Traitors' heads mouldering on Temple Bar, and she retained through life "the picturesque dress, and sweet though formal manners, of Richardson's Cedar Parlour." Her father, the fourth Lord Harborough, was a clergyman, and she had been trained by him in the definite but unemotional Churchmanship

of the Anglican school. Dr. Pusey wrote in 1879 :—

"The doctrine of the Real Presence I learnt from my mother's explanation of the Catechism, which she had learnt to understand from older clergy." Among these, it is natural to include the Rev. Lord Harborough; and, as he was born in 1712, her son's Eucharistic theology may be linked historically to that of Bishop Wilson and William Law.

The young Puseys, in spite of their father's grave temper and unsociable habits, had a thoroughly happy home, both at Pusey House and in Grosvenor Square. The beautiful refinement in which they were brought up is suggested, rather than described, in a passage which Dr. Pusey wrote in 1875 :—

"Refined manners *may* be a mere outside; the manners of the world may be soulless, like the beauty of a corpse, ere the first day of death is fled, with 'its mild angelic air, The rapture of repose that's there.' The beauty may not last; but it is the beauty left by the departed soul. So the beauty of the 'manners of the world' is, in its basis, Christian. . . . It used to strike me, in young days, how the preference of others to self, the great shock which it evidently was to give pain to any one, the consideration of every one's feelings, the thinking of others rather than oneself, the pains that no one should feel neglected, the deference shown to the weak or the aged, the unconscious courtesy to those secularly inferior, were the beauty of the refined worldly manners of the 'old school'; that it was acting upon Christian

principle, and that, if in any case it became soulless, as apart from Christianity, the beautiful form was there, into which real life might re-enter."

In this favoured home the young Puseys learned their religion and their good manners. They were early initiated in all the sports and amusements of country life. Tradition affirms that Edward (or, to copy his mother's old-fashioned pronunciation, "Ed'ard") was both a better shot and a better rider than his elder brother; he was a strong swimmer, and he excelled as a whip.[1]

In 1807 Philip and Edward Pusey were sent to a private school at Mitcham, where they were severely disciplined, and so well taught that either could have passed the Little-go before he left the school. In January, 1812, they went to Eton, then under the strenuous rule of Dr. Keate, and became boarders in the house of the Rev. Thomas Carter. Let not the critical historian contemn the pleasing tradition that Edward Pusey was the last boy who learned dancing at Eton. Otherwise, his career there

[1] Dr. Bellamy, President of S. John's College, Oxford, vouched for the following reminiscence. At the Commemoration of 1853, when Lord Derby was installed as Chancellor of the University of Oxford in succession to the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Philip Pusey brought a party of friends from Pusey to Oxford by road with four horses to his carriage. The party called on Dr. Pusey at Christ Church before proceeding to the Theatre, and during this interval the coachman refreshed himself too copiously. As he was obviously not fit to drive, Dr. Pusey, robed in his scarlet gown, mounted the box, and drove the whole party in safety to the Theatre.

was not remarkable. He was shy and delicate, and did not care much for boyish games. He had, we are told, many acquaintances, but few friends. A glance at the Eton School-Lists will show that then, as always, the school contained a goodly company of names destined to become conspicuous in public life; but the only name which is worth commemorating, on account of its bearing on Pusey's own life and character, is that of Julian Hibbert, of whom more will be said in another place.

Those who, in after life, remembered Pusey as an Eton boy, represented him as working hard at his lessons, but not as in any sense distinguished, or as giving promise of future fame. All through life, even when, to all appearances, most deeply secluded from the world, he followed national movements and public affairs with eager interest; and perhaps in his Eton days he was more powerfully impressed by events than by books; and the events which just then were happening could scarcely fail to make a deep dint on an observant and receptive mind. In 1860 he wrote: "The older of us remember what aweful joy was felt when, after three days of mortal strife at Leipzig, in which 107,000 were killed or wounded, victory at length was won; or when, out of 647,000 men who swept across Europe (a mass larger than the whole population of Nineveh) only 85,000 escaped."

With regard to the religious and moral condition of Eton when Edward Pusey was a schoolboy there, one may probably say that it was neither better nor worse than that of

other Public Schools in the earlier part of the nineteenth century. "Public Schools are the very seats and nurseries of vice." This is an extract from a religious journal, which Dr. Arnold once made the text of a sermon in Rugby Chapel; and, in spite of his energetic protest, I fancy that the judgment was not far astray. Another Headmaster of the same period declared that it was his duty to teach Greek but not morality. A Public School had nothing that corresponded to the proctorial supervision of an University. As long as propriety was not ostentatiously violated under the eye of authority, there was no enquiry as to what went on out of sight. Yet it should be borne in mind that in later life Dr. Pusey placed it on record[1] that some forms of evil, which in modern times have been the most serious troubles of Public Schools, were unknown at Eton in his schooldays. The explanation may possibly be that in his case the *anima* was, as Tertullian says, *naturaliter Christiana,* and that evil things instinctively concealed themselves in his presence.

Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, the accomplished historian of Eton, has told us that there was "an entire absence of religious teaching at the greatest school in England." But, though there was no religious teaching, there was plenty of religious observance. "The boys attended Divine Service in the College Chapel on Sunday morning and afternoon, and at eleven o'clock and again at three on all holy days, and at three on all half-holy days. In

[1] In his preface to the Abbé Gaume on Confession.

a 'regular week,' there were practically three half-holy days—Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. Every red-letter day, for which the Prayer Book provides collect, epistle and gospel, was a holy day, and its Eve was a half-holy day—a rather curious survival. If, for instance, a Saint's Day fell upon a Friday, the boys went to chapel at three on Tuesday, and Thursday, at eleven and three on Friday, and at three on Saturday. The 'Eton Calendar' was a very complicated affair. In addition to the Ecclesiastical holy days, there were a few secular holy days—royal birthdays and the like. On such days the boys went to Chapel at eleven and three, but of course these holy days had no eves. The minimum number of services attended by the boys between Monday and Saturday was three, the maximum six, the average probably four."

In due course Pusey reached the Sixth Form, where he ended his career as Fourth Oppidan. He was confirmed in the holidays at the Chapel Royal, S. James', and left Eton in July, 1817. In the following October he went as a private pupil to Dr. Maltby (afterwards Bishop of Durham), at Buckden Vicarage, near S. Neots. There he spent fifteen months of hard study under an excellent scholar, and in January, 1819, he went up to Christ Church. He was now only eighteen and a half; but what was perhaps the most decisive event of his life had already occurred. In the Summer Vacation of 1818, while staying at his home, he had made acquaintance with a beautiful and fascinating girl, Maria Catherine

Barker, whose parents lived at Fairford Park, near Lechlade, some fifteen miles from Pusey House. From that day forward he was passionately, and for some years hopelessly, in love. The parents on both sides, when they came to know of the attachment, opposed it vehemently; and old Mr. Pusey, regarding his son's devotion to Miss Barker as a boyish whim, forbade all intercourse between the two young lovers. Poor Edward Pusey's health and spirits broke down under this severe rebuff, which occurred half-way through his Undergraduate career. He fell into a Byronic way of regarding life as all misery and disillusionment, and for a while he seems to have been on the edge of a collapse; but he was saved by friendship and hard work.

At Christ Church, as at Eton, his friends were few; but they were loyal and serviceable. At this crisis the most helpful was R. W. Jelf,[1] whose counsel was a tower of strength. Pusey had always read steadily, but for his first two years he had mixed his reading with a good deal of hunting. When his father's devastating decision was made known, he first thought of quitting Oxford in despair, but eventually, under the wise influence of his friend Jelf, he resumed his reading for his Degree, and buried himself in his books. For the remainder of his time he read desperately hard, and in the summer of 1822 he obtained his First Class. Tradition narrates that, when his father offered him some substantial reward for his honours,

[1] Afterwards Principal of King's College, London.

he chose a complete list of the Fathers. Immediately after taking his B.A. degree, he set off for his first Continental journey, visiting France and Switzerland, and in the autumn returned to England for his elder brother's wedding. At Easter, 1823, he was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel College, then the very ark and sanctuary of intellectual life in Oxford.

J. H. Newman had been a Tutor of Oriel since 1821, and hence arose that close association between Newman and Pusey which was destined to affect so profoundly the religious history of England in the nineteenth century. It is worth while to recall the picture of the younger man as he appeared to the older, when first they met at the High Table of Oriel. "His light, curly head of hair was damp with the cold water which his headaches made necessary for his comfort; he walked fast, with a young manner of carrying himself, and stood rather bowed, looking up from under his eyebrows, his shoulders rounded, and his bachelor's gown not buttoned at the elbow, but hanging loose over his wrists. His countenance was very sweet, and he spoke little."

When Pusey was elected to his Fellowship, he stipulated that he should not be required to act as a Tutor of the College. His health, as the headaches showed, was not robust; and he wanted time for studies of his own. In 1823 and 1824 he regularly attended the Lectures of Dr. Lloyd, Regius Professor of Divinity and afterwards Bishop of Oxford, making copious notes of all the salient points; and he read for, and eventually won, the University Prize for a

Latin Essay; but his mind was already set on a more exhaustive scheme of study, bearing especially on the criticism of the Old Testament. The circumstances which first turned his thoughts in this direction originated in a friendship which he had formed at Eton. One of the last survivors of the Chartist Movement, the late Mr. W. E. Adams, in describing the early days of Chartism, wrote as follows:—"There was then in London, associated with all the fearless movements of that exciting time, a young man of rare talent and large fortune—Julian Hibbert. When Watson[1] was attacked with cholera, Hibbert took him to his house, nursed him, and saved his life. After his recovery, Hibbert, who had set up a press of his own, employed him to print some works in Greek. Watson's friend and saviour, around whom there hangs a haze of mystery and romance that can never be penetrated, died early, leaving Watson his press and printing materials. With the help of Hibbert's legacy, Watson commenced business as a printer and publisher on his own account, and for something like a quarter of a century sent forth a flood of the most advanced literature of the day."[2]

This Julian Hibbert was the son of a wealthy Whig, called Thomas Hibbert (1761-1807), who named his sons Julian and Washington "to show his sympathy with subversive principles". Julian Hibbert was one of Edward Pusey's few friends at Eton. Even while still

[1] James Watson (1799-1874), printer and publisher.
[2] *Memoirs of a Social Atom*, 1903.

a schoolboy, he had begun to question the foundations of the Christian Faith; he was much under the influence of French sceptics, and he developed into a very bitter and pugnacious atheist. His career, though melancholy, was vivid and interesting. He died in 1834; and his name is only recorded here because it seems that through intercourse with him, and in laborious attempts to solve his difficulties, Pusey first learned the virulence and activity of anti-Christian thought. As these became more apparent, a strong conviction formed itself in Pusey's mind that, having the requisite qualifications of scholarship, means, and leisure, he was bound to investigate the systems, philosophical and literary, on which the foes of Faith relied; and he conceived that this could best be done, as Dr. Liddon said, "at Universities in which Faith and a scarcely disguised unbelief, had been in conflict for more than a generation."

Accordingly, in the summer of 1825, Pusey left England for Göttingen, and thence he proceeded to Berlin. In both places he entered into close communication with the professors of the most advanced criticism; not merely attending their public lectures, but discussing theology with them in private, and fearlessly cross-examining the negative theories for which some of them were already famous, or notorious. In the autumn he returned to England, and, early in 1826, he took possession of his rooms in Oriel.

The moment had now arrived, when, in the ordinary course of affairs, he would have pre-

sented himself for Holy Orders. As a child of nine, he had said that he would like to be a clergyman, "because it is the best thing to do," and from that view he never swerved; but his newly-developed interest in the criticism of the Old Testament determined him to hold his purpose in suspense. He wished to increase his knowledge of Hebrew, and to learn Arabic and the other cognate languages. This could not be adequately done at Oxford, so, after some preliminary work, he returned to Germany in June, 1826. There, in spite of frequent hindrances from ill-health, he "toiled terribly," working at Arabic, Syriac, and Chaldee from fourteen to sixteen hours a day, and at the same time keeping himself carefully informed of all that was doing in the way of historical and theological criticism. Even German Professors, proverbially the most laborious of mankind, warned their English disciple against the perils of inordinate study.

But, somehow or other, his constitution, which must have been naturally very sound, endured the strain; and he reaped, and the Church reaped through him, rich fruits from his labour. When, in the summer of 1827, he returned to England, he was—what very few men in England were—a Semitic scholar; and he knew, though at present very imperfectly, the scope and drift of Protestant speculation.

At this point it may be well to trace the beginnings of the first of that long series of religious controversies in which Pusey's life was destined to be spent.

The Rev. Hugh James Rose (1795—1838), the first Principal of King's College, London, was a forerunner at Cambridge of the Tractarian Movement at Oxford. Of him Newman wrote that "when hearts were failing, he bade us stir up the gift that was in us, and betake ourselves to our true Mother." This reference is to his famous sermons on "The Commission and consequent duties of the Clergy," preached before the University of Cambridge in 1826; but his connexion with this narrative belongs to a rather earlier date. At the beginning of 1824 he was compelled by ill-health to drop parochial work and go abroad, and he went first to the country where, as Dean Burgon wrote, "Protestantism was to be seen bearing its bitterest fruits." The same vigorous writer thus continues: "It was the phenomenon of German Protestantism, as the system was to be seen at work in Prussia, which shocked his piety, aroused his worst fears, exercised his intellect. A rationalizing school, of which the very characteristic was the absolute rejection of a Divine Revelation, dominated at that time in Prussia, and furnished Hugh Rose with materials for raising his voice in solemn warning to his countrymen, at a time when, in high places, the fires of faith and love were burning very low."

This warning was delivered in a series of "Discourses on the State of the Protestant Religion in Germany," preached before the University of Cambridge in May, 1825. In these discourses Rose showed that the popular

Protestantism of Germany had gone near to losing its hold on the fundamental verities of the Christian Faith, and more especially on those which concern the Person and Nature of our Divine Lord. He accounted for this terrible apostasy by what he called "the absence of control" in German religion; and by this word "control" he meant the restraint on hazardous speculation which is exercised by Apostolic Orders, Catholic Creeds, and orthodox form of public worship.

While Rose took, so to say, his text from Germany, the application of his discourses was to England. Germany and England were now in closer relation than ever before. Englishmen were becoming increasingly familiar with German history, German literature, and German thought. There was imminent danger that the heresies which had devastated German Protestantism might affect by sympathy the popular religion of England. So Rose addressed his warning voice "to those many unstable spirits here at home who, half unconsciously it may be, had become infected with the *virus* of infidelity, and who, in divers quarters, were ventilating wretched crotchets of their own on the Right of Private Judgment, Articles of Faith, a fixed form of Liturgy. The strangest circumstance in connexion with the publication of these discourses was that the opposition to them proceeded from Dr. Pusey."

The discourses were published just after Pusey left England for Göttingen; they were soon translated into German, and there raised,

as was only natural, a furious storm. Some of the German teachers whom Rose attacked were Pusey's friends; and, as friendship always was to him a very sacred bond, his spirit was stirred within him when they asked him to defend them against what they and he considered to be Rose's uncharitable misstatements. The subject seems to have been often in his thoughts, but, owing to various distractions, he allowed nearly three years to pass before he gave those thoughts to the world.

During those years his private life was full of eventful passages. Mr. Barker, the father of the young lady whom he wished to make his wife, died in 1827, and thereby one hindrance to the marriage was removed. Mrs. Barker allowed the young people to meet, and they became engaged to one another in September, 1827. Even old Mr. Pusey, softened perhaps by advancing years, withdrew his opposition, but pleaded for still further delay. Edward Pusey was now a good deal out of health, worn down by worry and overwork, and, acting on medical advice, he spent the winter of 1827-8 at Brighton. His wedding was fixed for April 17, 1828, and he now returned to his father's house in Grosvenor Square. On April 13 his father died quite suddenly, and the wedding was again postponed. He returned to Oxford for the Summer Term, and in May he brought out the reply to Rose's discourses, which he had been meditating during his winter at Brighton. It was called "An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character

lately predominant in the Theology of Germany." It may be convenient here to summarize the rest of the dispute. Rose replied in 1829, in a second and enlarged edition of his Discourses, with an Appendix; to which Pusey rejoined in 1830 by publishing a "Second Part" of his former work, "containing an explanation of the views misconceived by Mr. Rose, and further illustrations." Dean Burgon adds—

"Pusey's religious views underwent a serious change about the same time; and, shortly after, his two learned and interesting volumes were by himself withdrawn from circulation."

The controversy has a deep and permanent interest, as showing the fundamental Evangelicalness of Pusey's religion. While Rose, as we have seen, attributed the decay of faith in Germany to the absence of "control," Pusey attributed it, so far as he admitted its existence, to what he quaintly called the "Orthodoxism" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By "Orthodoxism," he seems to have meant a reliance on the mere forms and phrases of orthodox religion, without care for the spiritual realities which they are intended to convey. In short, his defence of his German friends was, in substance, a vindication of the paramount importance of spiritual religion, based on the personal relation between the soul and God. But, as years went on, he came to see that he had judged some of the German theologians too leniently, and he realized the fatal tendency

of the destructive criticism to which they had allowed such unbounded scope. He made all the amends in his power by withdrawing from circulation his two books on German theology, and ordaining in his will that they should not be republished. In 1838 he wrote to Rose (whom he addressed as "My dear friend") a long letter of explanation, which is also a confession—"I thought you attached an undue weight to things external: I mean to the *authority* (as distinct from the inward life) of the Church, of its Articles, and its Liturgy. And myself did not sufficiently realize the blessing attending on our own Church, as distinct from other reformed bodies; nor had observed the Providence which has watched over her; or the way in which (as distinct from any 'binding force') our primitive Liturgy must have supported the faith of many who, in the last century, were probably far from entering into its full meaning, but of themselves would have sunk far lower. I thought again that you laid too much stress on the 'binding force' of Creeds and Articles; and myself did not sufficiently appreciate the inward power of Creeds in moulding the mind, and keeping it from straying. . . . I only wish there were any way in which we might co-operate; yet so, I trust, we have been doing; for, if right principles prevail, the shallow works you speak of must fall of themselves. But I wish they had been got rid of long ago: and so I the more regret that we were ever opposed; and seemed to be so, more than we were."

So ended this curious and instructive controversy. It had an echo fifty years later, when Dr. Liddon, endeavouring to restrain the aberrations of *Lux Mundi,* wrote to his friend, Charles Gore—"How thankfully would Dr. Pusey, in the later years of his life, *not* have published his 'Theology of Germany!'"

CHAPTER II.

ORDINATION—MARRIAGE—PROFESSORSHIP—THE TRACTS.

On Trinity Sunday, June 1, 1828, Edward Bouverie Pusey was made a Deacon in the Church of God. The ordination took place in "the Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford," and the ordaining Prelate was Pusey's former teacher and constant friend, Charles Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford. On the afternoon of the same day, the newly-made Deacon read the Evening Service in S. Mary's Church, of which his friend and brother-Fellow, J. H. Newman, had just become Vicar. On the following Sunday he again officiated at S. Mary's, and administered the Chalice at the Holy Communion.

On June 12 he was married at S. Mary's, Bryanston Square, to Maria Catherine Barker; and, during his wedding tour, he preached his first sermon in the obscure Village Church of Badger, near Shifnal. Returning from their tour, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Pusey established themselves at Oxford in a house obligingly lent them by Bishop Lloyd, who, in spite of his elevation to the Episcopate, retained his Professorship and his Canonry, and, as an

appendage to these, a house in Christ Church. There the newly-married couple lived as the Bishop's guests, while they were looking about them for a permanent abode. Pusey had resolved, if he could find a suitable house in Oxford, to make his home there, devoting himself to sacred study, and not, at any rate for the time being, taking a parochial charge. While he was still house-hunting, and while consequently his plans were all unsettled, he was suddenly called to the office which he held for the remainder of his life. In September, 1828, the Regius Professor of Hebrew died quite unexpectedly; and the Bishop of Oxford promptly determined that, so far as he could influence the Prime Minister's decision, the next Professor should be Pusey. There was the anxious interval, usual in such cases, of wire-pulling and letter-writing, hopes and fears; and on November 13 the Duke of Wellington, in a characteristically curt note, informed the Rev. E. B. Pusey "that the King had sanctioned his appointment to the vacant chair." In a letter of grateful acceptance, Pusey said of his new office—"It comprises every thing which I wished, and more than I ought to have hoped for."

The Professorship of Hebrew carried with it a Canonry of Christ Church, and this made it necessary for Pusey to seek Priest's Orders without waiting for the expiration of his year's Diaconate. Accordingly, he was ordained Priest by Bishop Lloyd in the Parish Church of Cuddesdon on November 23, 1828. On December 9 he was installed as Canon in the

Cathedral; and on Christmas Day he celebrated the Holy Communion in the Parish Church of Pusey, where he was staying for the vacation with his brother and sister-in-law. When we remember the place which the Eucharist came to occupy alike in Pusey's theological system and in his devotional practice, we can well understand that December 25, 1828, was, to the end of his life, a day "to be much observed unto the Lord."

At the beginning of 1829, Mr.[1] and Mrs. Pusey took possession of the official house in the "Tom" Quadrangle of Christ Church, which belonged to him in virtue of his Canonry. It was his first and last independent home; the birthplace of his children[2]; and the scene of his long life's work.

The new Professor threw himself into his new duties with characteristic thoroughness; prepared his Hebrew Lectures with sedulous care; and bestowed a vast amount of time and pains on the task of completing the Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Here his German studies stood him in good stead, and enabled him to cope successfully with a burden which, as described by Dr. Liddon, would seem to have been almost superhuman.

1 He did not take his degree of D.D. till 1835.

2 These were Lucy Maria Bouverie, b. 1829, d. 1844.
Philip Edward ,, b. 1830, d. 1880.
Katharine ,, b. and d. 1832.
Mary Amelia ,, b. 1833; married in 1854 to the Rev. J. G. Brine.

In 1830 he had a long and serious illness, apparently the result of overwork, and he was compelled to spend the winter of 1830-1 at Hastings. His weak point seems always to have been what, in the vague terminology of that day, was called "his chest." His excellent constitution rallied, as usual, under proper care, and he returned to Oxford at Easter, 1831, full of active schemes for the further development of Oriental study in the University. But larger events were at hand than any appointments to professorships or translations of commentaries, and Pusey was, though he knew it not, on the eve of a twenty years' campaign.

The English nation had now reached one of the main turning-points in its history. The Reform Bill had received the Royal Assent on June 7, 1832. That which the Duke of Wellington aptly described as a revolution by due course of law had taken place, and the most extravagant expectations filled the air. The enthusiastic friends of freedom looked with sanguine hope to the consequences of an Act which had admitted large classes, hitherto unrepresented, to the rights of citizenship. Prudent patriots believed that, by a timely concession of reform, they had weakened the forces of revolution and averted the necessity for larger change. Philanthropists cherished the amiable illusion that a purely political process would go far towards abolishing ignorance and poverty and disease, and would precipitate a social millennium. On the other hand, the rich and the privileged classes, timid

men, and lovers of the ancient ways, were terrified by the scenes of bloodshed and violence which had prepared the way for the great reform. A revolution had just occurred in France, and might at any moment be reproduced in England. Ireland was in a state of scarcely-veiled insurrection. Great political forces, hostile to the established order, and encouraged by a momentous victory, were no longer restrained by the strong hand of executive authority. Credit was disturbed, property was insecure, commercial enterprise at a standstill. Everywhere the signs of change were visible. The horizon was overcast with the dark clouds of coming danger. Natural disasters were added to political alarms. A mysterious and intractable pestilence ravaged the great cities. Men's hearts were failing them for fear and for looking after those things that were coming on the earth. Religious people, assembling themselves together for the study of sacred prophecy, discerned all around them the signs of the end, and persuaded themselves that the world had already entered upon that Great Tribulation which is appointed to precede the Second Coming of Christ. The terrors of the time begat a hundred forms of strange fanaticism; and among men who were not fanatics there was a deep and wide conviction that national judgments were overtaking national sins, and that the only hope of safety for England lay in a return to that practical recognition of religion in the political sphere which had been the characteristic glory of Englishmen at the proudest periods of Eng-

lish history. "The beginning and the end of what is the matter with us in these days," wrote Carlyle, "is that we have forgotten God."

The Whig Government, headed by Lord Grey, soon gave the Church a taste of their quality. In February, 1833, they introduced a Bill for the regulation of the Irish Church. Even the warmest defenders of that institution could scarcely deny that it stood in need of some reform. In a country with some eight millions of inhabitants, the Established Church boasted some eight hundred thousand members. It had four Archbishops and eighteen Bishops, with an aggregate income of £150,000 a year, and a body of parochial clergy supported by tithes which were exacted, not only from the Protestant minority, but from the six millions of Roman Catholics. Besides the tithes, a special tax, or "Church-cess," for the maintenance of the ecclesiastical fabrics and their services, was levied indiscriminately on members of all religions, but administered exclusively by Protestant vestries. It was estimated that, from first to last, the income of the Church was more than £800,000 a year. To remedy these anomalies, without too violently disturbing Protestant sentiment or endangering the security of property, was the object of the Ministerial Bill. It was proposed to destroy ten of the Bishoprics by consolidating them with the remainder. The incomes of some of the richer sees were curtailed, and the surplus thus arising was to be handed over to Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The "annates," or first-fruits of livings, had formerly been applied

in relief of the "Church-cess." Instead of these, a graduated tax was to be laid on all livings, and with the money thus accruing the "Church-cess" was to be extinguished. The terms on which lands belonging to the Church were let were to be so altered as to improve the position of the tenant without injuring the clergy. The tenant, it was calculated, would be willing to pay for this advantage, and the sum thus gained would amount to something between two and three millions. This money was to be available for purposes of State.

As soon as this Bill was introduced it was exposed to a double and treble fire of criticism. O'Connell and the Irish party scouted the relief, which consisted only in the abolition of the "Church-cess." English Radicals declared that, instead of twelve Bishops, the Irish Protestants were not numerous enough to require more than one, or at the most "two, to keep up the breed." The Tories raised the cry of confiscation, and loudly declared that all property was imperilled by what was called the "Appropriation Clause." The High Church party took up arms to withstand what they regarded as a sacrilegious attack upon a Divine institution. Lord Grey, who, in his insolence towards the Church, was a Whig all over, warned the Bishops to set their house in order. The spoliation begun in Ireland might soon extend to England. Even the saintly Keble felt that "the time had come when scoundrels must be called scoundrels." Being appointed to preach before the Judges of Assize and the University of Oxford on the 14th of

July, 1833, he delivered the sermon which became famous under the title of "National Apostasy." Thirty-one years afterwards, Newman wrote, "I have always considered and kept this day as the start of the religious movement of 1833."

Ten days after the delivery of this momentous sermon a few of the clergymen whom recent events had most seriously perturbed met for private conference at the Parsonage House of Hadleigh in Suffolk. They were gathered there by the invitation of the Rev. Hugh James Rose, who was now Rector of Hadleigh, and had just started the *British Magazine,* in the interests of orthodox Churchmanship. Those who came to Hadleigh were William Palmer, author of *Origines Liturgicæ;* the Hon. A. P. Perceval, Rector of East Horsley; and Richard Hurrell Froude. Keble and Newman, though invited, could not attend; but they were kept fully informed of all that went on. Out of this conference grew the famous "Tracts for the Times." Even in so small a company, there had been differences of opinion as to means. The more cautious men were for proceeding by Committees and Memorials, Associations of Friends of the Church, and Addresses to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The more eager and adventurous spirits were for something more immediate, more peremptory, more decisive. Newman, "out of his own head, began the Tracts"; the first three, all written by him, were published in the autumn of 1833. The first is a plain and vigorous assertion of the Apostolical Succession, and an appeal to the

clergy to rely upon it as their surest weapon in the great battle for the Faith which the anonymous writer sees to be impending. All through 1833 and 1834 the Tracts followed one another in rapid succession. They were short papers, strongly and clearly written, on such topics as the true nature of the Church, the structure and contents of the Prayer Book, and the relation of Anglican theology to primitive and Catholic truth. They were written in an intentionally startling style, and their success was instantaneous and complete. It astonished the writers themselves. "We did," they said, "but light a beacon on a lonely hill, and lo! the firmament on every side is red with the light of some responsive fire."

So far, the Movement had left Pusey on one side. It is probable that his apologies for German theology had led the stiffer sort of theologians to look upon him with suspicion. "He was not one of us," they said, and there was something in his social manner which inspired awe. Even Newman felt it; and yet there was enough intimacy between the two men to allow of some half-jocose, half-serious banter. In a casual conversation Pusey told Newman that he was too hard on the "Peculiars"—which was then the slang name in Tractarian circles for the Evangelicals. It would be better to conciliate them. Pusey had thought of writing something with that purpose. "Well, suppose you let us have it for one of the Tracts"; and Pusey, after some consideration, consented. The "something" was a Tract on the Uses of Fasting, which

was published in 1834, and its appeal to the Evangelical school lay in its clear and earnest recognition of the personal relation of the individual soul with God, and of the reality of spiritual experience.

But there is no need to discuss the Tract at length. It can easily be read by those who wish to read it. The vital point is, not what Pusey thought of Fasting, but the fact that by this contribution to the Tracts for the Times he become formally and publicly identified with the Oxford Movement. His new allies were fully alive to the advantage of his adhesion. "Dr. Pusey," wrote Newman, in after years, "gave us at once a position and a name. Without him we should have had no chance, especially at the early date of 1834, of making any serious resistance to the Liberal aggression. But Dr. Pusey was a Professor and Canon of Christ Church; he had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his Professorship, his family connexions, and his easy relations with the University authorities. He was to the Movement all that Mr. Rose might have been, with that indispensable addition, which was wanting to Mr. Rose—the intimate friendship and the familiar daily society of the persons who had commenced it. And he had that special claim on their attachment which lies in the living presence of a faithful and loyal affectionateness. There was henceforth a man who could be the head and centre of the zealous people in every part of the country who were adopting the new opinions; and not

only so, but there was one who furnished the Movement with a front to the world, and gained for it a recognition from other parties in the University." [1]

During the years 1834 and 1835 Pusey, though much impeded by ill-health, was fighting a vigorous battle against the proposed relaxation of the rule which bound Graduates and Undergraduates of Oxford to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles. His resistance to the proposed change was successful, and the rule remained unaltered for another twenty years. Early in 1835, the Arabic Catalogue was completed; and now he addressed himself to the doctrine of Holy Baptism, on which he had promised to write something for the Tracts. In the second half of the year he published the result of his labours in the shape of three successive tracts, which, taken together, may be considered a Treatise on Holy Baptism. The appearance of this treatise was, as Dean Church said, "like the advance of a battery of heavy artillery on a field where the battle has

1 Pusey said of himself in 1872 that he "had, at an early period of his life, thrown himself into the Tractarian Movement as an effective means of bringing to the vivid consciousness of members of the Church of England Catholic truths, taught of old within her, pre-supposed in her formularies, but unhappily overlaid or watered-down in the meagre practical teaching of the eighteenth century. This he did with a view to the deepening of the piety of individual souls, and to the restoration of the whole English Church, by God's blessing, to the high ideal which He set before her—viz., to represent in life and in doctrine the teaching of the Undivided Church."

been hitherto carried on by skirmishing and musketry. It altered the look of things, and the conditions of the fighting. After No. 67 the earlier form of the Tracts appeared no more. Except two or three reprints from writers like Bishop Wilson, the Tracts from No. 70 to No. 90 were either grave and carefully worked-out essays on some question arising out of the discussions of the times, or else those ponderous *catenæ* of patristic or Anglican Divinity, by which the historical continuity and Church authority of various points of doctrine were established."

In 1836 an event took place which showed that Pusey's fame as a scholar and theologian had now made its way far beyond the precincts of Oxford. The Regius Professorship of Divinity suddenly became vacant, and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley) being asked by the Prime Minister (Lord Melbourne) to suggest nominations for the vacant chair, put first on his list of suggestions the name of "Mr. Pusey, Professor of Hebrew." It is true that the suggestion came to nothing. Melbourne disregarded all Howley's nominees, and appointed Dr. Hampden (afterwards Bishop of Hereford), whose Bampton Lectures had, chiefly by their mistiness and clumsiness, laid him under suspicion of Socinian heresy. But the tribute to Pusey's growing eminence was unaffected by the issue. He had now become, as Dean Church says, the official chief of the Oxford Movement as it was seen by the world outside Oxford. "His position, his dignified office, his learning, his solidity and seriousness

of character, his high standard of religious life, the charm of his charity, and the sweetness of his temper, naturally gave him the first place in the Movement in Oxford and the world. It came to be especially associated with him. Its enemies fastened on it a nickname from his name, and this nickname, partly from a greater smoothness of sound, partly from an odd suggestion of something funny in it, came more into use than others; and the terms *Puseismus, Pusiéme, Puseista,* found their way into German lecture-halls and Paris *salons* and remote convents and police-offices in Italy and Sicily."[1]

According to the testimony of Newman, so clearly associated with him in those days of stress and struggle, Pusey was "a man of large designs; he had a hopeful, sanguine mind; he had no fear of others; he was haunted by no intellectual perplexities." One of those "large designs" was the experiment of receiving theological students into his house, where they lived as members of the family with himself and Mrs. Pusey, and studied Divinity under his guidance. Another was the formation of a Theological Society of Graduates, with the object of "improving our knowledge of the

[1] Lady Frederick Cavendish writes—

"It was in the year 1867 that we paid our respects to Pope Pius IX. . . . The Pope spoke to us in French, so the word he used for Puseyite was 'Poussèiste'. He could not pronounce the French 'u.' He said to me, 'M. Gladstone est Pousséiste, n'est ce pas?' To which I replied, 'Oui, Saint Père, et moi aussi'—at which he was much amused."

several branches of Theology, and of furthering clear, full, and definite views, by reference to original sources"; a third was the preparation of "a Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church, anterior to the Division of the East and West"—a formidable undertaking, in which Keble and Newman were associated with Pusey as editors, and a select band of competent scholars as contributors and scribes. The first volume—a translation by Pusey of S. Augustine's "Confessions"—was published in 1838, and in 1882—three months before his death—he was writing to a friend about some gaps in the series which ought to be filled.

CHAPTER III.

ROMANISM—BEREAVEMENT—TRACT XC.

THE quaint novel called *Father Clement* is nowadays a forgotten book; but in the first quarter of the nineteenth century it was held in high esteem as a trenchant exposure of Romish error. It concludes with a scene where a Roman Catholic traveller, visiting the disused chapel of what was once a Roman Catholic house, is supposed to moralize as follows over the ruins of his faith :—" He would sigh as he remembered that in Britain his Church is almost forgotten; her places of worship in ruins, or, stript of the character they once bore, now dedicated to another faith; her services regarded as unmeaning ceremonies: her doctrines held as too absurd to be professed by rational men, and therefore explained away by those who wish to regard her few remaining members as brothers and fellow-countrymen."

This account of the low estate into which the Roman Catholic Church in England had fallen is fully confirmed by those who were old enough to remember the facts.

Cardinal Newman (1801—1890) spoke thus to a Roman Catholic congregation :—" One

and all of us can bear witness to the fact of the utter contempt into which Catholicism had fallen by the time that we were born. . . . No longer the Catholic Church in the country—nay, no longer, I may say, a Catholic community; but a few adherents of the old religion, moving silently and sorrowfully about, as memorials of what had been."

"Romanism," wrote Pusey, "in our early days was scarcely heard of among us." James Anthony Froude (1818—1894) gives a similar report:—"In my own boyhood the Roman Catholic religion hung about some few ancient English families like a ghost of the past. They preserved their creed as an heirloom which tradition, rather than conviction, made sacred to them." And again, "Fifty years ago,[1] Romanism was, in England, a dying creed, lingering in retirement in the halls and chapels of a few half-forgotten families."

From time to time there was an isolated perversion from England to Rome, but it was of little consequence. The Rev. H. Digby Beste, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, "went over," as the phrase is, in 1798. Lord Cholmondeley (1792-1870) went over, and returned; Ambrose Phillipps, a Leicestershire squire, went over in 1824, and did not return, but drew after him, in 1830, the Hon. and Rev. George Spencer. Kenelm Digby, the author, went over in 1823; and Augustus Pugin, the architect, in 1834; but these permutations were regarded as mere eccentricities, and no

[1] Written in 1881.

one dreamed that they were likely to have any effect upon the Church and Commonwealth.

Meanwhile, the essential justice, as well as the political expediency, of admitting Roman Catholics to the ordinary rights of citizenship had been steadily gaining ground, and "Catholic Emancipation," as it was called, became a leading tenet in the creed of all enlightened politicians. But adhesion to that cause implied nothing in the way of sympathy with Roman Catholic theology. For example, there was no stouter and no more consistent advocate for Emancipation than Sydney Smith; yet no one ever assailed the tenets and usages of Romanism with more offensive irreverence. On the other hand, the resistance to Emancipation, though in the main political, had also a theological side. Bishops and clergymen, even of the traditional High Court school, were genuinely alarmed lest the Roman Catholics, if delivered from civil disabilities, would use their new freedom for the furtherance of their religious creed. This apprehension had an appreciable effect on the representation of the University of Oxford when Sir Robert Peel became a convert to Emancipation, and the determination of his former supporters to oust him from his seat was due as much to religious as to political considerations. Peel was defeated in July, 1829; and, though Emancipation was carried, the controversies connected with it had not died away when the Tracts for the Times began to appear. The University, as a whole, clung to its old war-cry of "No

Popery," and any thing which looked like sympathy, either political or religious, with the newly-enfranchised Roman Catholics was regarded with marked disfavour. Practices and phrases, which fifty years before would have passed unnoticed, now began to arouse suspicion.

Dr. Routh (1755-1854) still lived, as Newman said, "to report to a forgetful generation what had been the theology of their fathers," but he stood nearly alone, and had long been secluded from the general life of the University. Doctrines, which had been stated in the clearest terms by divines of established repute in the reigns of Charles II, and even of Anne, had been so generally forgotten that, when they were restated, they sounded new and strange. And, when these doctrines were found to be shared, even in part, by the dreaded and despised Romanists, all timid and bigoted people felt very ill at ease. A remarkable prophecy had gone before to this precise effect, Thomas Sikes (1766—1834), Rector of Guilsborough, had observed to a friend, in 1833, that the doctrine of "The One Holy Catholic Church" had been completely suppressed, partly because it was obscured in this country by the accident of Establishment and partly out of false charity towards Dissenters. But, as it was an article of the Catholic Faith, it was bound to come up again; and those who revived it would be "endlessly misunderstood and misinterpreted." "There will be one great outcry of Popery from one end of the country to another."

This prophecy was exactly fulfilled. In the year in which it was uttered the first of the Tracts for the Times appeared. They continued to appear (though at longer intervals as they tended to increase in bulk) all through the years 1834-1840. They did just what they were intended to do. Their effect was to arouse, to startle, to astonish, to alarm. In some quarters—even where the authors least expected it—they were welcomed with enthusiasm; in others they were, almost from the first, regarded with deep misgiving. But it is curious to remember that the first Tract which became the subject of acute controversy was intended as a defence of the Church of England against Popery.

Dr. Wiseman (afterwards Cardinal Archbishop) was giving some popular Lectures in London on the excellences of the Church of Rome, and Newman thought it advisable that some counterblast to these Lectures should be offered in the Tracts. Accordingly he issued on New Year's Day, 1836, Tract 71, "On the controversy with the Romanists"; and on January 6 he published a reprint of "Archbishop Ussher on Prayers for the Dead," in which a clear distinction is drawn between the primitive and the Roman practice with regard to intercession for the Departed. Pusey had been doubtful about the wisdom of issuing this reprint, for he saw that it was certain to provoke a storm; and his prevision was justified by the event. An Orange clergyman attacked the Tract in a scurrilous skit; and the *Record*

handled the subject with the most uncharitable vehemence.[1]

A more decent organ, the *Christian Observer,* attacked Pusey's Tract on Baptism. Evangelical clergy held meetings to discuss the progress of Tractarianism. Busybodies in the University placarded the walls with "Popery in Oxford." Minor dignitaries charged against the Tracts, and anonymous writers began to pour alarming reports into the ears of the kindly, but timid, Bishop of Oxford.[2] This brings us to the end of the year 1837. The Tractarian battle was now fairly begun.

All through the year 1838 Pusey was engrossed in his usual labours; reading, studying, writing, preaching, ranging his theological tenets in a more systematic order, planning large schemes for evangelistic work and social service. From these congenial pursuits he was abruptly recalled by a Charge of his Diocesan, Bishop Bagot, which went uncomfortably near a condemnation of the Tracts, and made it necessary for Pusey to defend and maintain his position. Newman, whose tendency was first to idealize and then to idolize the Bishops, wished to stop the Tracts as a token of submission to authority. Pusey, who always leaned more on the Church than on the Bishops,

[1] The same spirit may be traced in later years—

"There is indeed a day coming, when to have lived by stirring up strife between Christians will be no better a profession than to have lived upon the wages of prostitution."—*Bishop Wilberforce to the Editor of the "Record,"* 1853.

[2] Hon. Richard Bagot (1782-1854).

urged the more rational and manly course of allowing the Tracts to go on as if nothing had happened. This counsel prevailed, and was abundantly justified; for the Bishop, who seems to have been a little frightened, hastened to disclaim any "censure" of the Tracts. "My advice," he said, "was *precautionary* and *prospective*, not *inculpatory* and *retrospective*." Now surely, as Justice Shallow says, good phrases are, and ever were, very commendable.

Here we must turn aside, from this narrative of conflict and contention, to record the great and abiding sorrow of Pusey's private life. His marriage, so early desired, so long frustrated, had been ideally happy. Mrs. Pusey was a woman of many gifts and graces, and of a most spiritual and fervent piety; who not only made his home pre-eminently bright and happy, but co-operated to the utmost limit of her strength both in his philanthropic and in his literary labours. She lived a life of self-sacrificing benevolence, and, while she was a perfect mother, found leisure to be also her husband's amanuensis and coadjutor. In 1835 she showed the first symptoms of an illness, apparently phthisis, which increased in gravity as time went on. At Easter, 1838, her condition became manifestly precarious, and on Trinity Sunday, May 26, 1839, she died. What her death meant to her husband cannot be better conveyed than in Newman's words, written the day after she died:—"It is now twenty-one years since Pusey became attached to his late wife, when he was a boy. For ten

years after he was kept in suspense, and eleven years ago he married her. Thus she has been the one object on earth in which his thoughts have centred for the greater part of his life."

It was inevitable that such a cross as this, so heavy and so sharp-edged, should leave a permanent impress on Pusey's heart and life; but it was not permitted for a single week to impede his work for God and souls. Forty years later he wrote to his daughter:—"I bound myself, as our Lord bids us, to the day, and I resumed my work for God on the Monday after that Saturday when her body was committed to its resting-place." The work, however, was resumed under altered circumstances. He retired absolutely from the world. He even declined to attend official dinners of the Chapter of Christ Church. He refused to enter his own drawing-room, because his wife and he had used it so much together. When, in the following October Term, he preached before the University for the first time since his wife's death, one of his hearers wrote:—"When he came to the last sentence of the prayer before the sermon, in which the dead are mentioned,[1] he came to a complete standstill, and I thought he would never have gone on. He has very little mastery over his feelings." Henceforward he always walked through the quadrangle of Christ Church with downcast eyes, seeming to see the pall as it fluttered on his wife's coffin.

[1] "Finally, let us praise God for all those who have departed out of this life in His faith and fear, beseeching Him to give us grace so to follow their good example, that, this life ended, we may reign with them in life everlasting; through," etc.

He never passed her grave without a prayer. He kept in daily remembrance the hour of her departure. He insisted on regarding her early death—"out of the usual order of God's dealings, she, once so strong, is taken from me"—as a special punishment for special sins. As years went on, he dwelt increasingly on this thought, and multiplied the practices of austerity which seemed to drive it home. He laid stripes on himself; he wore hair-cloth next his skin; he ate by preference unpleasant food. He never "looked at beauty of nature without inward confession of unworthiness." He made "mental acts of being inferior to every one he saw, especially the poor and the neglected, or the very degraded, or children." He drank cold water, remembering that he was "only fit to be where there is not a drop to cool the flame." He looked at his fire as the type of Hell. He made "acts of internal humiliation" when Undergraduates or college servants touched their hats to him. To crown all, he made it a rule "always to lie down in bed, confessing that I am unworthy to lie down except in Hell, but so praying to lie down in the Everlasting Arms."

It is not wonderful that, when the master of the house followed such a rule of life as this, people who did not know him intimately should assume that his home must be a place of austerity and gloom, or should invent stories about unnatural restraints and strange disciplines inflicted on his children.[1] Some of these stories

[1] Pusey's son Philip told the Rev. W. Tuckwell that the nearest approach to punishment he could recollect was when his father, looking over his shoulder as he

are current even unto this day: and, as they have about as much foundation in fact as the tradition that "Dr. Pusey sacrificed a lamb every Good Friday,"[1] it is only right to make public the experience of some who had the best oportunities of knowing what Pusey's home was really like.

A lady who, as a girl, used often to stay there remembers the kind interest with which he noticed the music and merriment in the drawing-room. "I heard you singing last night. You sounded very merry." Another lady, who spent much of her time there as a child, says that she always called the Doctor's study "the Fairy-land for children." She used to sit on his knee, making sugar-drops, and, when she burnt her finger in the process, the Doctor "bound it up with the greatest skill and tenderness." Another pleasing trait is that the Doctor's was the only house where children were allowed to have "jam on their bread and butter." The one who of all living people is best qualified to say what Pusey was in his home writes as follows:—

"When he used to go for his afternoon walk to rest his head, you would not perhaps expect that his favourite walks were down the Towing Path when the men were all out boating. He liked to watch 'the gay ones' as he called them. He advocated the exercise as so

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read a novel on a Sunday, pulled his ear and said, "Oh, Phil, you heathen!"

[1] A more liberal variant of this tradition said "every Friday".

beneficial to health and character. Or else we used to go out by the Parks, and he would watch the cricket-matches as he passed. I never saw any 'asceticism,' so called. On the contrary, as my girls grew up, my father used to urge me that they should take part in all the amusements of the day; only he made it a strong point that their mother should be their constant chaperone, and take them herself to all the balls, never delegating her duty as a mother to others. He used smilingly to say, 'You know, dear, that you can say your prayers in the ball-room as well as anywhere else.' What he would have said to the unchaperoned girls of the present day I cannot conceive."

Here is a fine tribute to the general tone of Pusey's home:—"We were brought up all our lives in that atmosphere which can be best expressed by the words *Noblesse Oblige*. There could not be a mean or petty thought. It was a high standard of uprightness and justice in which one lived. My father was most particular that there should be no judgments of those who differed from us. *Judge not* seemed to be the motto of the house."

And again—"The great point was his perfect trust in us. One day, when I was still a girl, I was made very angry by some stupid story which was repeated to my father about myself. When I rushed into his study to tell him that there was not a word of truth in it, I asked most indignantly, 'Do you think that a child of yours could do such a thing?' He answered with his own dear, quiet smile, 'No, Puss (my pet name), I *knew* it was not true.'

It was a lesson of his perfect trust. Honour was the very air he breathed."

But it is time to return to more public matters.

The first seven years of the Movement, dating from July, 1833, were years of wonderful prosperity. In spite of opposition, calumny, and occasional rebuffs, the cause which Pusey represented went forth conquering and to conquer. The very virulence with which in some quarters the Movement was attacked served to bring it into notice, and win fresh adherents to it. For example, the inflammatory and uncharitable language used by some Evangelical clergymen at Islington, at a meeting held for the purpose of denouncing the Oxford Tractarians, determined the future course of Walter Hamilton, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. "He felt the contrast between this bitter denunciation of the Oxford School, and the quiet, holy, Christian lives of the men who represented it. It seemed to him that, if the fruits of the Spirit were to be taken as an evidence of His guiding Presence, the Tractarians had that evidence on their side."

But, the year which we have now reached —1840—was the last year of this unbroken prosperity. "Movements" for right causes are not killed by opposition from without; but they may be sorely impeded by difficulties within. So it was in the case of the Oxford Movement. Its founders and leaders were men absolutely sure of their position. They believed in the Church of England as the Catholic Church in this country; their most

earnest care was to exhibit the true character, too generally forgotten, of her doctrine, structure, and tradition; they were whole-hearted opponents of Rome, not only as regarded her claim to dominate Christendom, but also as to considerable portions of her theological system and practice. But the second generation of the Movement—and in Oxford four years is a generation—were men of less cautious and patient temper. They "started," as Dean Church says, "where the first generation had reached to." They delighted in extremes and extravagances. They were keenly alive to what they considered the defects and limitations of Anglicanism; they conceived the Church of Rome as something far nearer perfection than she really is; and they even began to suggest the question whether, in spite of all that the leaders had said and done, the Church of England herself was Catholic at heart.

It was this condition of disturbance and perplexity among the younger men of the Movement which led Newman to write "Tract XC"—the most momentous, and, as it turned out, the last of the famous Series. "It was occasioned by the common allegation, on the side of some of the advanced section of the Tractarians as well as on the side of their opponents, that the Thirty-nine Articles were hopelessly irreconcilable with that Catholic teaching which Mr. Newman had defended on the authority of our great divines, but which both the parties above mentioned were ready to identify with the teaching of the Roman Church." The Tract was published in February, 1841, under

the title of "Remarks on certain passages in the Thirty-nine Articles." It dealt with those Articles which were commonly regarded as most distinctly anti-Catholic or anti-Roman. With regard to the Twenty-second Article, Newman pointed out that it condemns the "*Roman*" doctrine of Purgatory, but not *all* doctrine of a gradual purification beyond death. Similarly with regard to the "Sacrifices of Masses," he showed that the Thirty-first Article only condemned some gross and admitted abuses connected with the Mass, and did not condemn all doctrine of a sacrifice in the Eucharist. It was the handling of these two Articles, more than any thing else in the Tract, which aroused suspicion and precipitated the storm. The first open sign of hostility was a public letter which was circulated in Oxford on March 9, 1841. This letter was addressed to "the Editor of Tracts for the Times"; it complained that Tract XC "had a tendency to mitigate, beyond what charity requires, and to the prejudice of the pure truth of the Gospel, the very serious differences which separate the Church of Rome from our own," and it demanded the name of the author. The letter was signed by four Tutors of Colleges in Oxford, one of them being "A. C. Tait," afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who thus began his life-long practice of persecuting the Catholic party in the Church of England. This letter produced immediate and far-reaching effects. It stirred up, as Newman said in after years, "a smouldering, stern, energetic animosity" against him. He immediately avowed the

authorship, and he did not lack defenders. Keble, who had seen the Tract in proof, wrote to the Vice-Chancellor in defence of it, and Pusey urged that it was calculated to do excellent service in the case of persons who might be led to suppose that the Articles condemned Catholic truths as well as Roman misconceptions of them. But it was all to no purpose. The Heads of Houses met, considered the Tract, condemned it as "evading rather than explaining the sense of the Thirty-nine Articles," and published their condemnation in the manner customary in the University. To use Newman's words, he was "posted up by the Marshal on the Buttery Hatch of every College in the University, after the manner of discommoned[1] pastry-cooks." This was a sufficient humiliation, but a heavier blow was soon to fall. The Bishop of Oxford, in a private letter sent to Newman through Pusey, expressed his disapprobation of Tract XC, and his desire that "Discussions on the Articles should not be continued" in the Tracts. Newman, who, in spite of all experience, was still an Episcopolator, was keenly wounded.[2] He withdrew nothing of what he had asserted in Tract XC. "I still feel obliged," he wrote

[1] This phrase meant at Oxford what is meant at a Public School by being "put out of bounds."

[2] In 1870 Pusey wrote to Liddon—"Dear J. H. N. said to me one day at Littlemore, 'Pusey, we have leant on the Bishops, and they have given way under us.' Dear J. K. and I never did lean on the Bishops, but on the Church. We, or rather the whole Church, have had plenty of scandals as to Bishops, and always shall have them."

to the Bishop, "to think the Tract necessary," but he brought the Series to a close. Reviewing this sad controversy after the lapse of twenty-four years, Pusey thus expressed his deliberate judgement—"For myself, I believe that Tract XC did a great work in clearing the Articles from the glosses, which, like barnacles, had encrusted round. I believe that that good work will never be undone while the Articles shall last."

CHAPTER IV.

THE CRISIS OF THE MOVEMENT.

The humiliations inflicted on Newman in the matter of Tract XC had an important bearing on Pusey's life and work. As soon as the issue of the Tracts was stopped, Newman withdrew, formally and deliberately, from his place in the Movement. "Public confidence," he wrote in later days, "was at an end; my occupation was gone. It was simply an impossibility that I could say any thing henceforth to good effect." And he now entered, in the seclusion of Littlemore,[1] on that course of melancholy meditation which four years later landed him in the Church of Rome. There is no need to retrace the history which is written, with superlative grace and pathos, in the *Apologia*.

The loss to the Movement was heavy. A fighting cause could ill afford to lose the services of that piercing intellect, that satiric

1 "We followed him back to his seclusion at Littlemore, that dreary village on the London road, to the house of retreat and the church which he built there—a mean house such as Paul might have lived in when he was tent-making at Ephesus, a church plain and thinly sown with worshippers."—Matthew Arnold, *Discourses in America*.

humour, that matchless style. But the loss had to be faced; and, when Newman resigned his place in the Movement, the leadership, which he had shared with Pusey, passed wholly into Pusey's hands. Henceforward Pusey (always with the support of Keble in the background) had to encourage the hopeless and rally the down-hearted and reassure the cowardly and guide the perplexed. He had to think, and plan, and negotiate, and, when necessary, fight, for all the rest. In a word, he was henceforth the Leader of the Oxford Movement; and many of its most characteristic actions and qualities date from this period of storm and stress. One of those actions was the creation of Sisterhoods, and this is a suitable point for tracing the early stages of the process out of which the first English Sisterhood was evolved.

It seems that, when Pusey began that serious study of the Catholic Fathers which so profoundly modified his theology, he was soon impressed by the views of such writers as S. Augustine and S. Jerome on the virtues of the Celibate Life. His knowledge of the Anglican divines showed him that there was a strong and continuous tradition, not merely theoretical, that virginity is the highest state of life. His most trusted friend had enshrined the same idea in *The Christian Year*:—

> "They say, who know the life divine,
> And upward gaze with eagle eyne,
> That by each golden crown on high,[1]

[1] ". . . that little coronet or special reward which God hath prepared (extraordinary and besides the

Rich with celestial jewelry,
Which for our Lord's redeem'd is set,
There hangs a radiant coronet,
All gemm'd with pure and living light,
Too dazzling for a sinner's sight,
Prepar'd for *virgin* souls, and them
Who seek the martyr's diadem."

Robert Southey (1774-1843), whose generous zeal for the Church of England was one of the formative influences which prepared the way for the Oxford Movement, wrote thus in 1829 about associations of women devoted to good works :—"They who shall see such societies instituted and flourishing here, may have a better hope that it may please the Almighty to continue His manifold mercies to this island, notwithstanding the errors which endanger it, and the offences which cry to heaven." And again—"Thirty years hence . . . England may have its Beguines and its Sisters of Charity. It is grievously in need of them."

To these considerations, urged from without, there was added in Pusey's case a more personal appeal. We are told by his Biographers that his eldest daughter, Lucy, born in 1829, expressed, when she was quite a child, "her desire to lead a single life, devoted to God's service;" and the great sorrow of his wife's death, which, in 1839, sundered Pusey for ever from the world, seems to have given

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great Crown of all faithful souls) for those who have not defiled themselves with women, but follow the Virgin Lamb for ever."—Jeremy Taylor, *Holy Living*.

a practical turn to what was before an unembodied idea. In December, 1839, he wrote to Keble :—"Newman and I have separately come to think it necessary to have some 'Sœurs de Charité' in the Anglo-Catholic Church. . . . My notion is that it might begin by regular employment as Nurses, in Hospitals and Lunatic Asylums, in which last Christian nursing is so sadly missed."

At the same time, he wrote to Dr. Hook, Vicar of Leeds :—"I want very much to have one or more societies of 'Sœurs de Charité' formed : I think them desirable (1) in themselves as belonging to and fostering a high tone in the Church, (2) as giving a holy employment to many who yearn for something, (3) as directing zeal, which will otherwise run off in some irregular way, or go over to Rome."

In Lent, 1841, he wrote, in a letter of Spiritual Counsel :—"Our women are more self-denying, more ardent, more devoted as a body, than we. There is a depth about the character of our English females which has not been brought out, but which, when 'Sisters of Charity' are formed, and self-denial acted upon, will bring glorious days to our Church."

This idea, once mooted, soon spread. Ladies in different parts of the country, feeling an inward call to some such self-consecration, wrote to the Leaders at Oxford for information and counsel. The time was not yet ripe for the formation of a Community ; but in one case at any rate a personal dedication was made before there was any House or Institution in which it could be carried out. On Trinity Sunday,

1841, a young lady who had been spiritually advised by Pusey, took in his presence the vow of Holy Celibacy, and sealed it at the altar of S. Mary-the-Virgin, Oxford. She was the first English Sister of Mercy, and lived till 1912, the Foundress-Mother of the Convent of the Holy and Undivided Trinity at Oxford. By her kindness I am enabled to cite the passage which, under God, determined the dedication of her life. It occurs in Newman's *Church of the Fathers* (Chapter xiv of the first and second editions). After speaking of the help which life in Community affords to single women, Newman adds—

"And, if women have themselves lost so much by the present state of things, what has been the loss of the poor, sick, and aged, to whose service they might consecrate the life which they refuse to shackle by the marriage vow? What has been the loss of the ignorant, sinful, and miserable, among whom they only can move without indignity, who bear a religious character upon them; for whom they only can intercede or exert themselves, who have taken leave of earthly hopes and fears; who are secured by their holy resolve from the admiring eye or persuasive tongue, and can address themselves to the one heavenly duty to which they have set themselves with singleness of mind?"

So the first of these Ventures of Faith was made; but at first it was perforce pursued in solitude. The establishment of the first Home for Sisters of Mercy belongs to a later period, but this may be a suitable place for the inser-

tion of a letter which the present writer received from the Duke of Rutland[1] in 1905.

"The origin of the first Sisterhood of Mercy in the Church of England was as follows. Southey had forcibly and persistently advocated the establishment in England of institutions resembling the Beguinages of the Low Countries. When he died, there was much discussion in the papers as to the form his Memorial should take. I suggested in a letter to the *Morning Post,* the chief Church paper of that day, a Sisterhood of Mercy; the suggestion was favourably received. A few people met in my rooms in the Albany, and it was determined to start the enterprise, subject to two conditions —first, that it should be located in a parish whose incumbent would welcome it, and become its spiritual head; and, second, that it should receive the sanction of the Bishop of the Diocese. The first was fulfilled by Mr. Dodsworth, Vicar of Christ Church, S. Pancras, accepting the post, and the second in the way described in a note taken at the time :—' Had an interview with the Bishop of London about the Sisters of Mercy, at which he said it was dangerous in such times as ours to propose such a scheme. "You see what a storm has been raised by my very moderate attempt to restore something like uniformity in my Diocese."[2] But, after discussing the chief points and agreeing on most of them, he said he would consult with the Archbishop, and so the matter

[1] John James Robert, 7th Duke of Rutland.
[2] Alluding to his famous Charge of 1842.

rested for a couple of months; and he has now written me a letter which I think will authorise us to proceed.' We did proceed; took a semi-detached villa in Park Village West and started the Sisterhood with two Sisters. That was in 1845. Some time after this, Dr. Pusey joined us with a munificent offer of £4,000 for the purpose of acquiring a site and erecting a suitable building. This was done in Osnaburg Street in the Parish of S. Mary, and Mr. Stuart became the spiritual head of the Institution; but somehow or other by this time the management of the Sisterhood apears to have passed away from the Lay Founders[1] to Dr. Pusey, Mr. Richards, and Miss Sellon."[2]

The years which followed on Newman's retirement from the Movement were filled to overflowing with strife and sorrow, and of these Pusey had his abundant share. There was his own uncertain health; there was illness in his family; there was a growing sense of divergence from Newman, with whom up till now he had worked so harmoniously; and, besides all these worries, there was a succession of acute controversies in the University and in the Church. The year 1842 was occupied with commotions attendant on the strange scheme of placing an Anglican Bishop at Jerusalem, charged with the oversight both of Anglican Clergy and of Lutheran ministers; and with a contest for the Professorship of Poetry at Ox-

1 One of these was Mr. Gladstone.
2 See p. 78.

ford, which was fought, for the astonishment of future ages, on theological instead of literary grounds. However, in spite of these perturbations, or perhaps because of them, the Movement still advanced. No one was more contemptuous of all that went by the name of Puseyism than Sydney Smith, but in 1842 he wrote to a friend abroad :—

"I have not yet discovered of what I am to die, but I rather believe I shall be burnt alive by the Puseyites. Nothing so remarkable in England as the progress of these foolish people."

A more friendly observer, though belonging to a different Church, was Ambrose De Lisle, who wrote, after a visit to Oxford in the autumn of 1842 :—

"We also visited Dr. Pusey, and found him what we expected—a most interesting and striking person. I think I never met with greater humility joined with such prodigious learning."

The year 1843 was marked by an event of special importance both to Pusey himself, and to the Movement which he now headed.

It will be remembered that in 1835 he published in the Tracts for the Times a Treatise on Holy Baptism. This he had written primarily to meet the intellectual difficulties of a pupil who was perplexed by the baptismal teaching of the Prayer Book. Pusey's aim was to show that this teaching is absolutely and literally Scriptural; and, in elaborating his theme, he was led to lay stress on the serious import which

inspired writers attach to post-baptismal sin.[1] Perhaps his strong sense of the awfulness of sin and of the consequences which it may entail led him to use language too unguarded and unqualified. Certainly he was misunderstood and misrepresented. He was accused by Samuel Wilberforce of "Novatian hardness." Others said that he had "scared" them with the ghastly notion that post-baptismal sin was unforgivable. J. B. Mozley wrote in 1838:—"I suppose there must be something harsh in Pusey's statements, as they offend people so mightily—more than the same view expressed by the older divines, such as Jeremy Taylor. He hits people hard, and offers no apology or consolation for the blow." And again:—"Men live after Baptism: sin comes up again, and has to be dealt with again."

These considerations led Pusey to plan a course of sermons on "Comforts to the Penitent." He originally thought of taking Absolution as the first of these; but, having regard to the highly uninformed state of the public mind, he chose the Holy Eucharist instead, as "a subject at which they would be less likely to take offence." The sermon was preached before the University on May 14, 1843. The text was S. Matthew xxvi. 28. The object of the sermon was "to inculcate the love of our Redeemer for us sinners in the Holy Eucharist, both as a Sacrament and as a commemorative Sacrifice. As a Sacrament, in that He, our Redeemer, God and Man, vouchsafes to be 'our spiritual food

[1] Cf. Hebrews vi, 4-6.

and sustenance in that holy Sacrament.' As a commemorative Sacrifice, in that He enables us therein to plead to the Father that one meritorious Sacrifice on the Cross, which He, our High Priest, unceasingly pleads in His own Divine Person in Heaven." Such was the object of the sermon, as subsequently stated by the preacher. As to manner and method, it was, according to Dean Church, "a high Anglican sermon, full, after the example of the Homilies, Jeremy Taylor, and devotional writers like George Herbert and Bishop Ken, of the fervid language of the Fathers; and that was all. Beyond this it did not go; its phraseology was strictly within Anglican limits." Dr. Hook, as anti-Roman a divine as ever the Church of England produced, called it "a truly Evangelical sermon." Even so hostile a witness as Samuel Wilberforce wrote :—"It does *not* seem to me at all to put forward the Transubstantiation view. Its main evil, I think, is a sort of misty exaggeration of the whole truth, which is very likely to breed in others direct errors."

As we look back upon the sermon and the circumstances under which it was preached, we see that it was intended purely for edification. It did not invite, or even suggest, controversy. It was only a plain re-statement, in language venerated all over Christendom, of the Eucharistic truth which has been held from the beginning. Nothing was further from the preacher's wish than that his application of this truth to the spiritual needs of the repentant sinner should startle his hearers or create disputations.

But 1843 was an electrical time. The Oxford Movement was nearing its crisis. The air was thick with rumours of Romanizing; and the Eucharistic language of the most orthodox divines—even of the Fathers—had come to sound strange in unaccustomed ears. The most pugnacious Protestant in the University made complaint to the Vice-Chancellor, and requested him to sit in judgment on the sermon. The Vice-Chancellor called to his aid six Doctors of Divinity. They examined the sermon in secret, without giving Pusey an opportunity of self-defence. They condemned the teaching as erroneous, and suspended Pusey from preaching before the University for two years. "It was a great injustice and a great blunder—a blunder, because the gratuitous defiance of accepted rules of fairness neutralized whatever there might seem to be of boldness and strength in the blow. They were afraid to meet Dr. Pusey face to face. They were afraid to publish the reasons of their condemnation."

Whatever this strange performance was intended to effect—and that was known only to its authors, now long gone to their account—what it actually effected is certain. It called public attention to a most precious doctrine of the Catholic Faith, which had been strangely neglected. It gave Pusey an unequalled opportunity of demonstrating the soundness of that doctrine, whether tried by Catholic or by Anglican authorities; and it indirectly, but most really, helped to make him throughout the remainder of his long life the special

champion and the most insistent teacher of the Real Presence and all that It involves.[1]

We must now return for a moment to Pusey's private life. The year 1844 was marked by a heavy sorrow. His eldest daughter, Lucy, was a child of signal and precocious piety. She had been confirmed and had made her first Communion when she was only twelve; and, as we have already seen, she had expressed a hope—which greatly delighted her father—that she might live a life of celibate devotion. But her health had always been extremely precarious, and she died on April 22, 1844, in her fifteenth year.[2]

Sorrow never hindered Pusey from Duty. 1844 was as completely filled with public and private work for souls as previous years had been. In this year he brought out his translation of Avrillon's *Guide for passing Advent Holily;* and this publication deserves special notice because it was the first of a series of "Adaptations from Roman Catholic

[1] The sermon was published under the title of "The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent"—with an appendix of theological authorities. It is to be found in the volume entitled *Nine Sermons preached before the University of Oxford.* Some timid friends advised Pusey not to publish the sermon. Mr. Gladstone advised publication. "Sooner or later, Pusey must, if the Vice-Chancellor would not, put the Church in possession of what had been condemned."

[2] The slab which covers the grave of Dr. and Mrs. Pusey in Christ Church bears this inscription:—

HIC DEPOSITUM EST QUICQUID MORTALE FUIT . . .
LUCIAE MARIAE NAT. EOR. MAX.
PUELLAE JAM IN VOTIS CHRISTO DESPONSATAE.

Writers," which subsequently brought him into trouble.[1]

1845 was marked by events which have become historical, and which need not be recapitulated in detail. On February 13 a Romanizing book by Mr. W. G. Ward, Fellow of Balliol, was condemned by a vote of the Convocation of the University, and Mr. Ward was deprived of his degrees. At the same time and place the Heads of Houses proposed a vote of censure on Tract XC, but the proposal was vetoed by the Proctors, one of whom was the late Dean Church. The veto was a bold rebuke to the spirit of religious persecution which was now rampant in the high places of the University; and Newman wrote privately to the Proctors to thank them for averting a blow which would have been painful to him; but his course was already chosen. On October 9, 1845, he was received into the Church of Rome, and "drew after him," as Mr. Gladstone said in later years, "a third part of the stars of heaven."

[1] No attempt is made in this small book to record all Dr. Pusey's publications. Their titles fill an Appendix of fifty pages in the Fourth Volume of his Life.

CHAPTER V.

LEEDS—BISHOP WILBERFORCE—THE POWER OF THE KEYS.

NEWMAN's secession was like a long-anticipated death. For four years his friends had feared it, prayed against it, "hoped against hope," with an ever-decreasing belief that the catastrophe could be averted.

In October, 1844, Samuel Wilberforce writes that his brother Henry (who himself seceded in 1850) "expects that Newman will go over to Rome, and that even within the year, so that here is to be the end of the Movement which, more effectually than any other, was to guard men against Rome!"

The "end" was not so near at hand, and indeed has not arrived yet; but Newman's secession, with all that it involved, was a grave disaster. It justified his enemies; it disheartened his friends; it seduced his disciples. This is not the place to tell the story of its effect on the general history of the English Church; here we are specially concerned with its effect on Pusey.

Among the practical forms in which Pusey's piety showed itself was a munificence

beyond the usual proportion of gifts to income. During his wife's life-time he had curtailed his domestic expenditure, parted with his carriage and horses, and allowed Mrs. Pusey to sell her jewels, in order to contribute, anonymously, £5,000 to a fund for building new churches in London. After her death, he began to practise an even stricter economy, in order to build, again anonymously, a church in Leeds, where he was assured by his friend Hook that churches were specially needed. The church had to be built out of income, so the work proceeded slowly; and, while it proceeded, the skies were darkening for the storm which broke in Newman's secession. The Bishop of Ripon [1] was terrified; even the dauntless Hook was flustered; the enemies of the Church were full of bitterness and clamour and wrath and evil-speaking; and innumerable difficulties were put in Pusey's way. However, all was at length arranged, and the church, since so well known as S. Saviour's, Leeds, was consecrated on the Feast of S. Simon and S. Jude, nineteen days after Newman seceded. The opening of the church was marked by an Octave of Services, during which twenty sermons were preached, seventeen by Pusey himself; and it is now known that the whole cost had been defrayed by Pusey's liberality.[2] "On the late occasion," he wrote, "God did bless visibly the solemn services. There seemed, so to say, an

[1] C. T. Longley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

[2] Two chalices were the gift of his dying daughter Lucy.

atmosphere of blessing hanging around and over the church."

Such was the impression left on the mind of an eye-witness, and one who, after all, was the person principally concerned. Samuel Wilberforce, looking on from afar, took a different view, and wrote censoriously about "this Leeds self-appointed Holy Week." The censure would not be worth noticing, except for the fact that the person who pronounced it had just [1] been nominated to the See of Oxford, and that a curious and trying chapter in Pusey's life had thereby been opened.

Samuel Wilberforce (1805—1873) was by birth, training, and conviction an Evangelical. His ingrained Protestantism had been thinly veneered with a layer of moderate High Churchmanship, but the original material showed itself through all disguises. He had a genuine and life-long horror of Rome and Romanism; he had no scientific theology, and he was honestly unable to distinguish between what was Primitive and what was Popish in such a matter as *e.g.*, Eucharistic Adoration.[2]

In 1838 he wrote thus about the authors of the Tracts for the Times:—"I admire most highly the talents of some of these men; I revere far more their high and self-denying holiness and singleness of purpose: but I cannot agree with them in all their leading

[1] Oct. 14, 1845.

[2] "From the phraseology and many of the conventionalities of Evangelicalism he never, to the last hour of his life, was able to shake himself entirely free."—J. W. Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men.*

views of doctrine (*e.g.*, Pusey's, as far as I understand it, view of Sin after Baptism) and I often find in practical matters that I differ from them." By 1845 the tone of partial disagreement had turned to that of total hostility. "I must say a word or two about Pusey. I quite believe him to be a very holy man. I could sit at his feet. But then I see that he is, if I understand God's word aright, most dark as to many parts of Christ's blessed Gospel. . . . I see that he has greatly helped, and is helping, to make a party of semi-Romanizers in the Church, to lead some to Rome, to drive back from sound Church views those amongst us who love Christ, for another half century, and to make others grovel in low unworthy views of their Christian state, trembling always before a hard master, thinking dirt willingly endured holiness, etc."

As soon as Wilberforce was nominated to the Bishopric, he wrote to a friend that he did not intend to ordain men who could only subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles in a non-natural sense, and he added—"Now, as circumstances stand at Oxford, this is very much the battlefield of opinion; and I cannot but fear that, through Pusey's pupils, I may even be drawn into a painful position to Pusey." It must be admitted that the prospects of that "painful position" were not diminished by Pusey's first letter to his new Diocesan.

On November 15, 1845, the Chapter of Christ Church went through "the solemn and touching form," as Pusey called it, of electing

Wilberforce to the See of Oxford. On the same day Pusey wrote a letter to the Bishop-Elect, with regard to which he said in later years—"Residing in Oxford habitually, I knew that I was acquainted with the state of minds there in a way in which he, who had not resided since his B.A. degree, could not be. I thought, then, that I could convey to him information which might be useful to him and to the Church. It was not in regard to the Oxford Movement generally, but with regard to a definite class of minds, that I wrote."

The letter began with a disclaimer of congratulation. Sympathy was what the Bishop's case demanded. Some Sees would have seemed fitted to his natural gifts: he had been called to "a See which most of all requires supernatural." After this rather doubtful compliment, Pusey goes on to sketch the disturbance and perplexity which have been caused by Newman's secession, and to vindicate the line which he himself has taken in dealing with troubled minds. He gives the Bishop a shrewd hint that, "in this Diocese, it will need all the wisdom which any can obtain to rule aright the Church of God"; he expresses his thankfulness that his new Diocesan is not "such as some with whom we have been threatened," and he concludes with a courteous offer of hospitality. To this curious letter of welcome the Bishop replied with much personal politeness, but with a plain statement that he considered Pusey's views about the tenets of the Church of Rome irreconcilable with "the doctrinal formularies of our Reformed

Church." Pusey instantly replied with a long letter, reaffirming his justification of Tract XC, quoting "the Acts of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas" in defence of his belief in Purgatory, and explaining in detail what he did and what he did not advise in the case of those who consulted him about Invocation of Saints. To this the Bishop rejoined with some asperity, dismissed SS. Perpetua and Felicitas with a reference to "animal magnetism and every form of unintentional deceit," and roundly accused Pusey himself of "a subtle and most dangerous form of self-will." This correspondence was certainly an ill-omened beginning of a relation such as that which was to subsist between Wilberforce and Pusey for twenty-four years. Not till far on in the Bishop's episcopate did the clouds so far clear away as to enable the two men to act together in defence of those truths which they held in common.

Bishop Wilberforce was enthroned in his Cathedral Church on December 13, 1845. On February 1, 1846, Pusey, whose term of suspension had expired, preached again before the University. Pursuing his plan of showing the various means of grace appointed for the restoration of the repentant sinner, he chose for his subject "Entire Absolution of the Penitent." He took for his text S. John xx. 21-23, and he began with these penetrating words—"It will be in the memory of some that when, nearly three years past, Almighty God (for 'secret faults' which He knoweth, and from which, I trust, He willed thereby the rather to

'cleanse' me) allowed me to be deprived for a time of my office among you, I was endeavouring to mitigate the stern doctrine of the heavy character of a Christian's sins, by pointing out the mercies of God which might reassure the penitent, the means of his restoration, the earnest of his pardon." In the censured sermon, which he now reasserted to the very height of its doctrinal position, he had shown the blessing conveyed through the Holy Eucharist. He now continued the same line of thought. All forgiveness is of God. The Church and her ministers are not substitutes for, but instruments of, Christ the One Absolver. But that the One Absolver had delegated to His Church the absolving power was plain from the words of the text; and that the Church of England claims the right to exercise this awful gift is plain from the formula of Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick, when read in connexion with the Ordinal. "The Church of England teaches the reality of priestly absolution as explicitly as it has ever been taught, or is taught to-day, in any part of Christendom."

Against this sermon no public or official objection was raised. The Puritans and the Latitudinarians disliked it excessively, but the expression of their dislike was confined to spiteful reviews and angry murmurs. The Doctrine of the Keys was now triumphantly vindicated, and a great part of Pusey's subsequent life was spent in applying it practically. Probably no priest in the Church of England

has ever heard so many confessions, or directed so many consciences.[1]

After what has just been written, it seems strange to read that, when Pusey preached his sermon on "Entire Absolution of the Penitent," he had not yet made his own Confession. The fact that this was so must be interpreted by the actual circumstances of the Church of England at the time when he first felt, in his own case, the burden of sin, and began the work of penitence. The doctrine of Priestly Absolution had been held and taught unbrokenly in England, through the Reformation, right down a long line of eminent divines to the time when the Oxford Movement began. To cite only authorities of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Absolution had been taught by Dean Granville, who died in 1702; Archbishop Wake, who died in 1737; Charles Wheatly, who died in 1742; Bishop Wilson, who died in 1755; Bishop Horne, who died in 1792; Bishop Tomline, who died in 1827; Bishop Marsh, who died in 1839; John Keble, who died in 1866; and Bishop Phillpotts, who, born in 1778, died in 1869.

[1] Pusey wrote, in 1866, "The use of Confession among us all, priests and people, is very large. It pervades every rank, from the peer to the artizan or the peasant. In the course of this quarter of a century (to instance my own experience, which I must know) I have been applied to, to receive confession from persons in every rank of life, of every age, old as well as young, in every profession, even those which you would think least accessible to it—army, navy, medicine, law."

But, in spite of this unbroken testimony to the Doctrine of the Keys, the practice of Confession during days of health seems to have fallen into general disuse by the middle of the eighteenth century. It is true that Pusey wrote, in 1878, "Older clergy told me of remarkable instances of confession and restitution, long before our Tractarian days"; but the subject was not enforced in manuals or in sermons: the Prayer Book alone witnessed for it, and that witness seems to have been generally disregarded even by devout Church-people.

It seems probable that Confession in sickness, or on a death-bed, was never discontinued. Pusey knew what he was writing about when he said, in his sermon on "Entire Absolution,"—"People have through years of life purposed to confess (if God enable them) at their death. But what instinctive reverence tells them should be done before death, should, if possible, be done in life." The circumstances of a death-bed, coupled with the necessary silence of the priest, make evidence on this subject almost unattainable; but the plain direction of the Church in the Visitation of the Sick could scarcely be without its effect, and traces of the practice crop up in unexpected quarters. For example, in the year 1897, at a Mission held at Chardstock, those who made their confessions began with a metrical *Confiteor,* apparently of immemorial antiquity, which, at the Missioner's request, was subsequently written down.

It ran thus :—

"To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;
To thee, and all the Heavenly Host:
I lift my hands and pour my prayers,
And tell my griefs and sins and cares.
For I have sinned, and I alone
Am cause of all the sins I own.
I pray God's pardon and His grace
Of you, His priest, who, in His place,
Shalt judge of what I now confess,
And bind or loose, and blame or bless."

The consideration that Confession ought not to be deferred to a death-bed (which we may never have, and which, if we have it, must be surrounded by physical and mental distractions) seems to have taken a stronger hold on Pusey's mind after he preached his sermon on "Entire Absolution." It was probably reinforced by the reflection that a director of souls should submit to the discipline which he exercises, and it was deepened by a prolonged and severe illness in the summer of 1846. When he returned to Oxford for the Autumn Term, he had resolved on his course. He chose Keble for his confessor, and the choice was eminently wise. Keble's was, perhaps, the soberest, soundest, and most wholesome mind of all those which directed the Oxford Movement. His theology was traditionally English, wholly free from mediæval and foreign taints: and he detected, with characteristic clearness, the fatal tendency of popular Puritanism to "make every man his own absolver." He accepted the charge laid upon him, gave Pusey some

eminently sensible directions for self-discipline, and received his first Confession at Hursley on December 1, 1846. A week later Pusey wrote to his "dearest Father" in these touching terms: "I cannot doubt but that, through your ministry and the Power of the Keys, I have received the grace of God, as I know not that I ever did before."

CHAPTER VI.

SISTERHOODS.

THE year 1847 was almost wholly occupied by controversies and negotiations connected with S. Saviour's, Leeds; which had become, contrary to all that Pusey hoped and believed, a centre of Romeward activity. It was a mortifying return for the sacrifices which Pusey had made; but, in spite of all discouragements, and of even furious reproaches, he never lost faith in the future of S. Saviour's. The story can be read in detail in the Third Volume of his Life.

Pusey spent the Long Vacation of this year at Hayling Island; and it is characteristic of him that, even in this day of rebuke and blasphemy, he was busy in excogitating further developments of religious work in the Church of England. Among his visitors at Hayling Island was one of the Sisters from the Community at Park Village. From the beginning of that Community, Pusey had taken a keen interest in its affairs; and it would appear from the Duke of Rutland's letter, already quoted, as well as from the Life itself, that he gradually superseded Dodsworth as spiritual director of the Sisters.[1] It seems likely that, in his

[1] See Life, vol. iii, p. 90.

seclusion at Hayling Island, he began to evolve some further ideas with regard to what might be done by Sisterhoods; and before long an opportunity for realizing them presented itself.

The year 1848 was marked by one of those "small things" which we are warned not to despise. This small thing has its place in this narrative, because it brought Pusey into relations with a person and a movement that powerfully and permanently affected a large portion of his work. *Credo in Lydiam Sellon.* In this formula, fifty years ago, people used to express Pusey's profound belief in the lady named, and his reliance on her religious labours as proof that the Holy Spirit was working in and through the Church of England.

Priscilla Lydia Sellon, daughter of Captain W. R. B. Sellon, R.N., was a truly remarkable woman. Starting with small advantages of birth, wealth, or physical strength, she founded and maintained, in the teeth of enormous difficulties, institutions which exist to this day; she made for herself a permanent place in the history of the Anglo-Catholic Revival; and she acquired an absolute dominion over people, both male and female, infinitely wiser, and in some ways better, than herself. She was courageous, clever, and adroit in no common degree. She had an inflexible will, and an infinite variety of resource. Some who knew her well said that she was mad; others, that she was hypnotic; others, that she was a saint and a prophetess. The Puritan press used to

represent her as a selfish hypochondriac and an unfeeling tyrant. A woman of whom such conflicting estimates were formed must have been, at least, remarkable. In what follows, I quote from Miss Margaret Goodman, who was at one time closely associated with Miss Sellon, and afterwards was for many years Matron of the General Hospital at Birmingham :—

"Miss Sellon, deeply moved by the wretchedness of many of the poor, especially in our maritime towns, took her portion, whatever it might be, and, with the consent of her father, determined to devote her little fortune, together with what other talents God had committed to her, to the relief of misery. With this intention, . . . she came to Stoke, part of Devonport,[1] where she lived in humble lodgings: after a short time, being joined by another lady, she took a small house, and the two continued working amongst the poor with all simplicity. In a few months several other ladies came to cast in their lots with them, amongst whom was one of high standing and of showy but somewhat superficial attainments, and who was deeply imbued with fantastic notions gathered from reading the accounts of the mediæval ages and the practices of the saints of old, a kind of literature perused in some circles about that time. It is often seen that persons of good sense suffer themselves to be guided by weaker minds, and it is said that from the mediæval lady came the original

[1] In response to a public appeal for help from the Bishop of Exeter, New Year's Day, 1848.

impulse to the mode of life existing in Miss Sellon's houses in 1859."[1]

That mode of life was, by all accounts, fantastic enough; its discipline arbitrary, and its rigours considerable; but it had been gradually evolved out of very praiseworthy beginnings. Miss Sellon's first work was in schools—day-schools, night-schools, industrial schools for boys and for girls. To these she soon added an orphanage. In order to assist the clergy of S. James', Plymouth, in whose parish she worked, she undertook the preparation of candidates for Baptism and Confirmation; and, by her sedulous care for female emigrants sailing from Plymouth, she made a valuable contribution to Preventive work. Pusey, who had originally counselled her to make Plymouth her sphere of action, watched her devoted labours with the keenest sympathy, and helped materially to shape her course. Reports of the work at Plymouth and Devonport went abroad; ladies, anxious to take part in it, came to join Miss Sellon, and in 1849 they were, by Pusey's advice and with the hearty sanction of the Bishop, formed into a Sisterhood, under the title of "The Society of the Holy Trinity of Devonport." This Sisterhood still survives in the beautiful Priory at Ascot, where Pusey died. Of course Miss Sellon was the Superior, and Pusey the spiritual director, of the new Community. Superior and director alike soon became the subjects of an envenomed

[1] *Experiences of an English Sister of Mercy*, by Margaret Goodman.

hostility, and of slanderous reports which necessitated the intervention of the Bishop of Exeter. The personal characters of those assailed were publicly and triumphantly vindicated; but suspicion and calumny still clung round them, hindered their work, and disturbed their peace. And this is not wonderful. The idea of Sisterhoods was still novel; the practical working of it an experiment. The founders and pioneers of the movement had no traditions to guide them. They had to evolve their rules out of their experience as they went along. They had every thing to learn, and even their warmest admirers must admit that there was some lack of that wisdom which is profitable to direct.

Presently, the original Sisterhood in Park Village[1] was broken up, and the surviving members of it joined the Devonport Society. Indeed Pusey, with his exaggerated belief in Miss Sellon's fitness for rule, seems to have thought that she might be a kind of Superior-General over all Sisters of Mercy in the Church of England. This notion never took a practical form; but the very opposition which Miss Sellon encountered, and the unwelcome publicity thus forced upon her work, diffused the idea of Sisterhoods, and gave an impetus to the formation of fresh Communities. The Sisterhood of S. Mary-the-Virgin at Wantage was founded in 1848; the Community of S. John Baptist at Clewer in 1852; the Sisterhood of S. Margaret, East Grinstead, in 1855; and

[1] See p. 59.

many smaller societies of similar intent have been founded in more recent years. All in turn profited by the experiences, some felicitous and some unfortunate, of those who led the way. To-day the principle of Sisterhoods is an organic element in the life of the Church of England; and has spread wherever the English language is spoken. It cannot, I think, be doubted that Pusey did more than any other one man to lay the bases of the Common Life for Women in the English Church. Other, and perhaps more dexterous, architects have built on his massive foundations.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GORHAM JUDGMENT—THE PAPAL AGGRESSION.

THE year 1850 was destined to be a momentous year in Pusey's life. The circumstances which made it such must now be briefly narrated.

In 1847 an Evangelical clergyman, the Rev. G. C. Gorham, was presented to a living in the Diocese of Exeter; and Bishop Phillpotts, formidable both as theologian and as lawyer, refused to institute him, alleging that he held heterodox views on the subject of Holy Baptism. After protracted litigation, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided, on March 8, 1850, that the doctrine held by the incriminated clergyman was not such as to bar him from preferment in the Church of England. This decision naturally created great commotion. Men's minds were rudely shaken. The orthodoxy of the English Church seemed to be jeopardized, and the supremacy of the Crown in a matter touching religious doctrine was felt to be an intolerable burden. All through the litigation Pusey had been in the thick of the fight, a combatant not less effective because unseen. Every one who

was frightened, and every one who was perplexed, and every one who was angry, from the Bishop of Exeter downwards, came to Pusey for guidance, for instruction, for encouragement; and, throughout all the highly complicated transactions connected with the suit, he was, as always, in close alliance and constant communication with Keble. As soon as the final decision was given, Pusey advanced into the open. At a moment of seeming defeat and widespread consternation, it was necessary that the Leaders should be seen at the head of the army.

On July 23, 1850, two great meetings were held in London, to protest against the Gorham Judgment, as being an unwarrantable intrusion of the Royal Supremacy into a sphere where it had no right, and to reaffirm belief in the imperilled doctrine of "One Baptism for the Remission of Sins." The two meetings were, in intention, one; but no hall could be obtained which would hold all who wished to be present. Pusey spoke at Freemasons' Tavern; and it may be said, without disparagement to others, that he rose to the very height of the occasion. His speech was, in the highest degree, trenchant, reasoned, outspoken, decisive; but its most striking note was its solemnity. As we read it, we realize that he was, and felt himself to be, the organ through which the Church of England repudiated formal heresy, and reaffirmed the spiritual commission which she holds, neither from Crown nor from Parliament, but from the Divine Head of the Church Himself.

The opening sentence was a foretaste of what was to follow :—" We have now come to the close of an eventful day, the most eventful in all the eventful years which the oldest of us remember—the most eventful, perhaps, of all yet to come; for it contains in itself, if not the being, yet the well-being, of the English Church. The future lies wrapt up in the occasion which brings us together to-day. We stand where two roads part; the way of the world and the way of the Church; the way of man and the way of God; the way, it may be, of earthly loss and heavenly gain, or the way of earthly prosperity and spiritual loss. For, if the State will not, as Magna Charta pledges it, allow that 'the Church shall have her liberties inviolate,' we must ask that the State will set us free from itself, and must go forth as Abraham, not knowing whither he went, poor as to this world's goods, but rich with the blessing of that Seed in Whom all the nations of the world shall be blessed—Christ our Lord."

Starting from this position, Pusey went on to define the historical relations between Church and Crown, to clear away some popular misconceptions which had obscured the true doctrine of Baptism, and to show that the Privy Council was incompetent, even though it were willing, to destroy the faith of the Church. "The Judicial Committee of five persons have not power to commit the Church of England to heresy."

Towards the end he made a most characteristic appeal to English resolution and perseverance. "Secular causes—the causes of

humanity, of political economy, ambition, liberality—have been carried by human perseverance. The first thought of the abolition of the Slave-Trade was received, I believe, with ridicule. It was carried in the name of Humanity. I need not say by what perseverance the change of the constitution in 1832; the admission of all classes (whatever their belief was) into Parliament; Free Trade; were carried. And shall we, in the maintenance of the faith of Christ, be less persevering? . . . Will the Name of Christ be of less avail than the name of our common humanity? We trust not to human perseverance only, but to the grace of God."

And then the last word of all:—"Had we prayed more, we might not be in this distress. Let us ask in His Name, Who hath all power in heaven and in earth. Let us become ourselves more such as He will hear. Let us ask perseveringly and we shall obtain, for God gives to prayer of His own omnipotence. *Oratio vincit Deum.*"

I have described this crisis rather fully, because it had an important bearing on Pusey's position. It drove out of the Church of England six leading clergymen — Maskell, Dodsworth, Allies, Henry Wilberforce, Archdeacon Manning, and, at a rather later date, Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce; besides such laymen as Badeley, Bellasis, Hope-Scott, and Lord Feilding.[1] The shock of these secessions drove the faithful remnant to cling more closely

[1] Afterwards 8th Earl of Denbigh.

than ever to Pusey, in whose rooted fidelity they felt a profound, and, as events showed, a just confidence.

But some of the seceders, in departing, had published spiteful pamphlets, in which they represented Pusey as having led them, step by step, to the brink of the precipice, though he himself had stopped short on the very edge. To make confusion worse confounded, Pius IX chose this moment for establishing a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England; the head of it, Cardinal Wiseman, issued a flamboyant Pastoral, claiming England as his own; and all at once the country was plunged into a hissing sea of Protestant polemic. People who had no particular religion of their own found a certain satisfaction to their consciences in denouncing the religion of others. Honest Protestants were genuinely indignant at what they regarded as an attack upon the Reformed Faith. Well-instructed Anglicans resented an act which practically denied the jurisdiction and authority of the Church of England. Devotees of the British Constitution were irritated by an interference with the Royal Prerogative; and fervent patriots were enraged by the gratuitous intrusion of a foreign potentate. Public meetings were held everywhere, fiery speeches made and heroic resolutions passed. Every platform and every pulpit rang with variations on the fine old English air of "No Popery!" Even Covent Garden Theatre and the Lord Mayor's Banquet at the Guildhall re-echoed the strain in Shakespearean quotations. The Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, published one of

his celebrated letters, addressed this time to the Bishop of Durham; and, not content with rebuking and defying the Pope, he went out of his way to denounce and insult the whole High Church party as the secret allies and fellow-workers of Rome. The Bishop of London delivered a Charge aimed, very palpably, at Pusey; and all the Bishops, with the sole exception of Exeter, seem to have agreed that it would be wise to make Pusey the scape-goat, ecclesiastically speaking, for the sins of the whole people.

By this time, Pusey was pretty well used to controversy, and, as long as the attacks on him were delivered publicly, he was quite capable of defending himself. But the conditions of the conflict were seriously altered, and Pusey's self-defence was hampered, when the attack was made in private letters, and those the letters of his Diocesan.

It is quite obvious, from Bishop Wilberforce's "Life," that the Bishop had never sympathized with Pusey; and enough had been quoted, earlier in this narrative, to show that he did not shrink from pronouncing strong though vague censures on what he disapproved in Pusey's teaching. Like the rest of his episcopal brethren, the Bishop was panic-stricken by the Puritan outcry which followed the Papal Aggression. He was anxious, at all hazards, to make his own sound Protestantism known unto all men; Pusey, as a Canon of Christ Church, lay convenient to his hand; and the pamphlets of the perverts, accusing Pusey of Romanizing practices, supplied the desired

occasion. Accordingly, on November 20, 1850, the Bishop wrote to Pusey, reasserting his disapproval of "Adaptations" from Roman writers;[1] stating his conviction that Pusey, without wishing it, led his disciples to Rome, and actually adopting the pamphlet of one of the perverts as formulating his own charges against Pusey's teaching. The letter ended with a demand for explanations, and veiled threat of Inhibition should the explanation be refused. Pusey replied at great length and with great cogency; and, in the rather confused correspondence which ensued, the Bishop seems to have withheld a public Inhibition on the condition that Pusey should not officiate in the Diocese of Oxford except at Pusey, "where his ministry would be innocent."[2]

Greatly moved by this groundless persecution, yet careful rather for the souls to which he ministered than for his own ease, Pusey published, at the beginning of 1851, a "Letter to the Bishop of London," in which he vindicated to the full both his theological position, and the methods of devotion which, in practice, he recommended. He published also two replies to the perverts whose railing accusa-

1 *A Guide for passing Advent holily* (Avrillon); *A Guide for passing Lent holily* (Avrillon); *The Foundations of the Spiritual Life* (Surin); *The Year of Affections* (Avrillon); *The Spiritual Combat* (Scupoli); *The Life of Jesus Christ in glory* (Nouet); *The Paradise of the Christian Soul* (Horst).

2 It is now known that the Bishop's mind had been excited against Dr. Pusey by the Rev. T. T. Carter, Rector of Clewer. See the *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1895.

tions Bishop Wilberforce had adopted; and, being, in the University pulpit, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, he preached (and published) a clear sermon on "The Rule of Faith, as maintained by the Fathers, and the Church of England."

All through 1851 the Bishop of Oxford, who would appear to have gone to war without reckoning the opposing forces, was bombarded with appeals, remonstrances, and representations from those, beginning with Keble, who had become cognizant of his dealings with Pusey. Though not a trained theologian, the Bishop was a person of great shrewdness and quick perceptions; and before long he realized that he must find some way of retreat from an untenable position; so in his Triennial Charge of 1851 he expressed a general disapproval of some practices with which Pusey was identified, and then, after some further correspondence, he "set Dr. Pusey free to resume his ministry" in the Diocese of Oxford.

Thus on May 6, 1852, ended Pusey's last great struggle with that perversion of authority, which, when applied to sensitive consciences, is often the grossest of tyrannies. He had undergone and overcome; had fought and had conquered. Henceforward his position in the Church of England was pre-eminent and unchallenged.

From this point onward, the narrative may take a less minute and detailed form than was required by the circumstances of the earlier period, but before we pass to the next stage it may be well to quote the description, given by

the Rev. William Tuckwell, of Pusey as he appeared to an Undergraduate's eyes at the time which we have just been recalling :—

"It was at the beginning of the 'fifties that I first came to know him well, sometimes in his brother's house at Pusey, sometimes in his own. In those days he was a Veiled Prophet, always a recluse, and, after his wife's death in 1839, invisible except when preaching. He increased as Newman decreased; the name 'Puseyite' took the place of 'Newmanite.' As mystagogue, as persecuted, as prophet, he appealed to the romantic, the generous, the receptive natures; no sermons attracted Undergraduates as did his. I can see him passing to the pulpit through the crowds which overflowed the shabby, inconvenient, unrestored Cathedral; the pale, ascetic, furrowed face, clouded and dusky always as with suggestions of a blunt or half-used razor; the bowed, grizzled head, the drop into the pulpit out of sight until the hymn was over; then the harsh, unmodulated voice, the high-pitched devotional patristicism, the dogmas, obvious or novel, not so much ambassadorial, as from a man inhabiting his message; now and then the search-light thrown with startling vividness on the secrets hidden in many a hearer's heart. Some came once from mere curiosity and not again; some felt repulsion; some went away alarmed, impressed, transformed."

And then again :—"His sermons at Pusey gave the same overwhelming impression of personal saintliness as breathed from them in the Christ Church pulpit; but the language

was laboriously simple, arresting the crass Berkshire rustics by pithy epigrams which fastened on their minds, and which some of them used afterwards to repeat to me: 'Find out your strong point, and make the most of it.' 'Seek Heaven because it is God's Throne, not because it is an escape from hell.' 'Holiness consists, not in doing uncommon things, but in doing common things in an uncommon way.'"[1]

[1] *Reminiscences of Oxford.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONFLICT WITH RATIONALISM.

PUSEY'S whole life was devoted to the service of God in the Church of England and in the University of Oxford. Sometimes the Church claimed the greater portion of his care; sometimes the University. So far, we have followed his labours for the Church, but now the scene shifts to the University; for, coincidently with a lull in ecclesiastical controversy, Oxford became involved in a secular strife in which Pusey had to play an onerous part.

A Royal Commission had been appointed in 1850 to enquire into the condition of the University of Oxford. The Commission reported in 1852; and Pusey threw himself, with all his accustomed thoroughness and zeal, into a criticism of the Report. He strongly supported, against the view of the Commissioners, and the much-praised practice of Germany, the old system under which instruction was mainly imparted to students by their Tutors in College—not by Professors of the University. He argued against the proposal to increase the number of lay-tutors by throwing all the Fellowships open to laymen; and

maintained that the influence of Tutors in Holy Orders told favourably upon the moral character of their pupils.[1] This testimony was delivered in the shape of "Evidence" before the Hebdomadal Board at Oxford, and was transmitted by the Board to the Commissioners in 1853. It elicited, of course, a reply on behalf of the Commissioners, and to that reply Pusey made rejoinder in *Collegiate and Professorial Teaching and Discipline*.

There is no use in retracing all the steps of a controversy which has long since ceased to be actual even in Oxford, and never was actual anywhere else; but one portion of Pusey's statement was of permanent value as expressing his most solemn and central thought. To the reproach that he had treated an academical question in a theological spirit he replied in one word—"Undoubtedly," and then he goes on to show that belief in God must govern all intellectual effort. "History, without God, is a chaos, without design, or end, or aim. Political Economy, without God, would be a selfish teaching about the acquisition of wealth, making the larger portion of mankind animate machines for its production. Physics, without God, would be but a dull enquiry into certain meaningless phenomena. Ethics, without God, would be a varying rule, without principle, or substance, or centre, or regulating hand. Metaphysics, without God, would make his own temporary god, to be resolved, after his

[1] In connexion with this subject the reader is referred to Grant-Duff's *Notes from a Diary* for July 22, 1867.

brief hour here, into nothingness out of which he proceeded."

But Acedemical disputes, however important in their sphere and degree, could not long distract Pusey from "the one thing needful." Early in 1853 he preached before the University a sermon on "The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist;" in which he set forth, with copiousness and exactitude, the true and Catholic belief concerning that great mystery. The sermon was published with a formidable array of notes and references; and the fact that it was allowed to pass without challenge by authority was justly held by Pusey to signify that the cause for which he had suffered so much in 1843, was now, at least as far as the University was concerned, victorious.

In 1854 the Government's Bill for the reform of the University of Oxford became law, and in the October of that year Pusey was elected to a seat on the newly-constituted Hebdomadal Council. This election opened a fresh field of activity and usefulness for a man whose time was already pretty full. It brought him into closer relation than he had before with the University and its work; it vindicated his position in the official world of Oxford; and it led to the obliteration of some old feuds and the renewal of some old friendships. Pusey's aptitude for business astonished friends and foes alike, and he held the seat unchallenged for more than twenty-five years, only relinquishing it when he became too deaf to follow the business.

This year—1854—was marked by two

events, one sad and one joyful, in Pusey's private life. He lost his sister-in-law, Lady Emily Pusey,[1] to whom he was tenderly attached; and his daughter Mary was married to the Rev. J. G. Brine. Henceforward he and his son Philip were, besides the servants, the only inmates of the large house in Christ Church.

To narrate in full all the controversies in which Pusey was incidentally engaged would far transcend the limits of this book, for, whenever any one got into difficulties by maintaining unpopular truths, then Pusey's good offices were immediately invoked. The consequence was that a large portion of his time was occupied in writing letters of instruction, counsel, warning, or sympathy to men like Bishop Forbes and Archdeacon Denison, who were attacked for teaching the Objective Presence in the Holy Eucharist, and to other less conspicuous confessors who were made to suffer for the same good cause.[2] But we must now concentrate our attention on controversies in which Pusey was directly and personally concerned; and, in the period which we have now reached, those controversies had their centre at Oxford.

Ten years before, Newman, observing the signs of the times, had said: "The Heads of Houses may crush Tractarianism; they will then have to do with Germanism"; and now his prophecy was abundantly made good. It may,

[1] Daughter of the 2nd Earl of Carnarvon, and wife of Philip Pusey, M.P., who died in the following year.

[2] For Pusey's defence of the doctrine taught by Denison, see Appendix A.

perhaps, tend to simplification, if, instead of tracing separately the different routes by which the various forces of Unbelief advanced upon the citadel, we recall their combined assault.

The "Liberal" school in theology (so termed by a curious misnomer, for nothing on earth can be less Liberal than the attitude of Latitudinarians towards Catholicity), had of late years made great advances. Richard Whately was already an Archbishop. His favourite henchman, Samuel Hinds, had now been made a bishop; so had Hampden, who lay under the censure of the University for supposed heresy, and so had Lee, a Greek scholar free from all theological prepossessions. Thus encouraged, the smaller fry took heart of grace. Benjamin Jowett, Fellow of Balliol and Professor of Greek, denied the Atonement, the inspiration of the Bible, and the Personality of the Holy Spirit. Arthur Stanley denied nothing, but mystified every thing, by the joint working of a most inaccurate mind and a most fascinating style.[1] Bishop Colenso, who was neither accurate nor fascinating, found the Pentateuch full of arithmetical blunders.[2] F. D. Maurice (who had the hardihood to charge Pusey with "ambiguity"), explained away the Eternity of

1 "Stanley had two intellectual deficiencies which flourished in his mind with a vigour that was extraordinary; he was hopelessly inaccurate, and he was more entirely destitute of the logical faculty than any highly educated man whom I have ever known."—*Dr. Liddon*, 1882.

2 Bishop Wilberforce said, "The Arithmetical Bishop could not forgive Moses for having written a Book of Numbers."

Punishment. The writers of *Essays and Reviews*, a rough hash of heresies and platitudes, disturbed the faith of some, and were upheld by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which, by the mouth of its presiding officer, spoke of "the inferior Persons of the Trinity."

Throughout these commotions, which extended, roughly, over ten years, Pusey, though deeply distressed, and worried on all hands, kept his head, and, what was even more valuable—his justice and his charity. Thus he supported persistently, and against much misrepresentation, the increase of the Greek Professor's salary, contending only that the increase should not be so made as to imply a personal compliment to Professor Jowett. He responded warmly to an appeal from his cousin, Lord Shaftesbury[1] (who before this had bitterly attacked him), for co-operation with Evangelicals in the battle against Unbelief. When the Judicial Committee justified Unbelief, he saw that the true policy for believers was to work for some Court of Final Appeal in spiritual causes, less glaringly unsuitable than the Judicial Committee. "Let Churchmen," he said, "on the principle of the Anti-Corn Law League, league themselves for 'the protection of the faith.' 'The Church in danger' has been, and will again be, a strong rallying cry. And now the peril is not of some miserable temporal endowment, but of men's souls. Let

[1] The Hon. Philip Pusey's sister, Mary Bouverie, married Anthony, 4th Earl of Shaftesbury, and was grandmother of the famous philanthropist and Evangelical.

men league together to support no candidate for Parliament who will not pledge himself to do what in him lies to reform a Court which has in principle declared God's Word not to be His Word, and Eternity not to be Eternity."

These words occur in a vigorous pamphlet,[1] which he published in 1864, and reinforced by repeated letters to the Press. All other opportunities at his disposal for combating false opinion he used with equal diligence. He assembled Undergraduates and young B.A.'s at his house for the discussion of difficulties in the Old Testament. He preached before the University on the Nature of Revelation, on God as the sole Source of Knowledge, on the doctrine of the Atonement, and on Everlasting Punishment.[2] In 1860 he published Part I of his Commentary on the Minor Prophets, and in 1862 and 1863 he delivered from his professorial chair his Lectures on the Book of Daniel. In connexion with these publications the testimony of a Puritan antagonist is interesting and amusing. The Rev. Bourchier Wrey Savile wrote, on the occasion of Pusey's death :—

"I venture to think that after ages will pronounce these works not only the best of his compositions, but will consider that, if he had abstained from the pools of controversy, and from those pitfalls whether of doctrine or

[1] *Case as to the Legal Force of the Judgement of the Privy Council*, with a Preface.

[2] He had published in 1855 two University Sermons, called *All Faith the Gift of God*, and *Real Faith entire*.

ritual, as well as from attempting to defend the Ritualistic sect—the most lawless body of men which have ever appeared in the Church of Christ since the day of Pentecost—his reputation would stand at a much higher elevation than it does now, or will do at any future time."

Pusey gave special prominence to the Book of Daniel, because, as he said, "unbelieving critics considered their attacks upon it to be one of their greatest triumphs. . . . Disbelief of Daniel had become an axiom in the unbelieving critical school. Only they mistook the result of unbelief for the victory of criticism. They overlooked the historical fact that the disbelief had been anterior to the criticism." There is no need to summarize the contents of *Daniel the Prophet.* It has been before the Church ever since 1864. Six years later Pusey wrote :—"I have outlived a good many interpretations. I have seen their birth, their flourishing state, their death and burial, and their mummy state, *in which they are curiosities.*" The words which I italicize aptly illustrate his tolerant contempt for ill-founded criticism. Towards the critics themselves he seemed, to some, less than charitable; but his biographers say :—

"Pusey could see no frankness or candour in the much-praised conduct of clergymen who insinuated doubts which they did not openly state, and he desired to tear aside the veil which hid from the public eye the source of their arguments and the issue to which he was convinced that they would ultimately lead."

Lord Shaftesbury, always emphatic whether in praise or in blame, commended the Lectures on Daniel at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews,[1] and said of the author :—

"It may, perhaps, startle some of you, that I should recommend a work written by Dr. Pusey. He may have some opinions from which we differ, but I believe that a man of greater intellect, of more profound attainments, or of a more truly pious heart, than Dr. Pusey, it would be difficult to find in any Christian nation."

I turn now from Pusey's public controversies to his private dealings, in order to show —what his biographers do not mention—his share in the revival of the conventual life for men.

Joseph Leycester Lyne (afterwards better known by his monastic style of Father Ignatius, O.S.B., Abbot of Llanthony), was born in 1837. He was educated at Trinity College, Glenalmond, and, while he was a student there, he secretly resolved to devote his life to God as a Monk, while he still pursued his original intention of seeking Holy Orders in the Church of

[1] In 1869 Lord Shaftesbury wrote thus in his diary about the "utter intolerance" of the Evangelicals :—

"The words, the just, true, words I said in praise of Pusey for that marvellous Essay on Daniel, which he could not have composed but by the special grace of God, have condemned me for ever in their esteem; and I doubt whether, were the vote taken by ballot, they would not pronounce that I was by far the more detestable of the two."

England. On December 23, 1860, he was ordained Deacon in Wells Cathedral, on Letters Dimissory from the Bishop of Exeter, and he began clerical work as a curate of S. Peter's, Plymouth, under the Rev. G. R. Prynne. As he had no University Degree, it was stipulated that he should not be ordained Priest for three years. Mr. Prynne had been in close relations with Miss Sellon, whose "Abbey" stood in his parish; but he discouraged his curate's desire to seek her acquaintance. "Miss Sellon was a great invalid, and scarcely received any one, least of all a stranger." However, young Lyne persevered in his effort, presented himself to 'The Mother,' and was admitted to her friendship. He had already established a Guild for Men and Boys, and Miss Sellon lent him one of her empty houses in order that he might, if he could, gather the members of the Guild into a kind of Community. She also introduced "Brother Joseph," as Mr. Lyne was now called, to Dr. Pusey, and it would seem that Pusey encouraged him to proceed with the formation of his Community. Immediately afterwards Brother Joseph fell desperately ill, and, at the crisis of his illness, Pusey sent him this message: "Do you think that our Lord would have allowed you to love and serve Him so long, if He had intended to let you perish?" The illness abated and Brother Joseph was gradually restored to health; but he had to leave his curacy at Plymouth, and the little Community was broken up. In spite of this rebuff, Brother Joseph persevered with his monastic idea, and now determined to assume a monastic

dress. His first "habit" was fashioned by Miss Sellon's sister Caroline, was then handed to Pusey in a parcel, and by him sent to Brother Joseph at his father's house in London. His father, an eager Protestant, opened the parcel and secreted its contents. From London Brother Joseph went, with his parents, for a tour in Belgium, where all that he saw and heard strengthened his resolve. He says of himself: "My monastic vocation was deepening every day. I longed to be, to our beloved Church of England, what Père Lacordaire and other religious men were to the Churches of France and Belgium." Returning to England in improved health, Brother Joseph worked for a time at S. George's-in-the-East, but he could not reconcile himself to merely parochial duties. Early in 1862 he published a pamphlet announcing his intention of forming a monastery, and appealing for funds; and in Lent, 1862, he established himself, with two Brothers and a Postulant, at Claydon, near Ipswich. In the following year he obtained a house of his own in Ipswich, took the life-vows in the presence of his spiritual director, and adopted for himself and his brethren the original and uncorrupted Rule of S. Benedict. Henceforward he was "Father Ignatius, O.S.B." Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, wrote:—"I thank God for putting it into the heart of a Deacon of our Church to restore the Rule of S. Benedict in our midst."

From that day till his death, Father Ignatius was constantly before the public eye, and there is no need for me to recapitulate his history. What is pertinent to this narrative is

the fact that Ignatius' father after the flesh, Mr. Francis Lyne, always accused Pusey of having aided and abetted his son's monastic schemes, and wrote a pamphlet to prove his point.[1]

From that pamphlet it would seem that Pusey approved of his young friend's ideal, but came to distrust his judgment. In 1867 he wrote to Mrs. Lyne :—"I appreciate, as you know, your son's gifts and good qualities, but, with the disposition which I have seen and watched for several years, I should dread the priesthood for him. If it comes in God's Providence, He will, I trust, give him grace for it; but I dare not take part in trying to obtain it for him."

In 1881 Mr. Lyne addressed some furious letters to Pusey, charging him with having led his son Joseph astray. Pusey's answers, here subjoined, illustrate alike his views on the general subject of monasticism, and his beautiful patience in dealing with even the most unreasonable gainsayers.

"SOUTH HERMITAGE,
"ASCOT PRIORY,
"BRACKNELL,
[*July* 13, 1881.]

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I am afraid that we differ too widely in our religious convictions that any expression of

[1] *Dr. Pusey's Defence of "Father Ignatius,"* London, 1882. The title-page sets forth that "Booksellers may obtain a copy of this Book by applying at the Office of the Church Association, 14, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C., London."

mine should mitigate any distress of yours. Yet we believe and hope and trust in the same Redeemer, and hope to thank Him for ever in His own presence.

"I do not, myself, see why there should not be associations of men and women living together to do whatever God gives them to do for His glory and for the good of souls. There were such communities of men from very early times, and of women as soon as the world became Christian, and it was safe for them to live together. The value of Sisters of Mercy or Charity, or Deaconesses, has been recognized by some of our Bishops. For men it is more difficult, for there are few who have what the Marriage Service calls 'the gift of continency.' But man was not made to live alone, and if men forego the happiness of the married life, 'judgeing the same to serve better to godliness' (as Art. XXXII speaks), it will probably by most be judged best that they should not live alone. I thought that your son had the calling to live a devoted life, and in this I encouraged him. I did not think that he was going to begin it in so marked a way. It may have been stupid of me, but it did not occur to me, when I transmitted him the dress, that he would wear it publicly. The residence in Belgium gave him a fresh impulse.

"I can and do sympathise with all your sorrow as a father, although I do not share the ground of your sorrow. Your good wife when I saw her, rejoiced in your son's devotedness, though she regretted that his dress prevented his obtaining Priest's Orders, which she tried

to induce Archbishop Longley to give him. I have thought at times that it was better for him that he did not obtain them. The sorrow which I hear of arose not from her son's choice of life, with which, when I last saw her, she sympathised. I have not seen your son for many years, as my deafness prevents my holding any intercourse except by writing.

"With every good wish,

"Yours faithfully,

"E. B. PUSEY."

[*July* 25, 1881.]

"MY DEAR SIR,

"You will see, by the enclosed envelope (which I received back from the Returned Letter Office yesterday—Sunday), why you did not receive the answer to your first letter, which I wrote by return of post. I know not how I omitted the last syllable of your post town. I suppose I was interrupted.

"In regard to your last letter, I would only say that as your son was in Deacon's Orders when I first saw him, I cannot imagine how I can be supposed to have withdrawn him from your teaching. He probably had his own convictions already, as most men have when they are old enough to teach others. In fact I remember hearing from himself what his convictions and longings were.

"I should have hoped that it might have become a comfort to you that your son took the motto 'Jesus only,' and that, so speaking, he must have led many to love Jesus. But with this I had nothing to do; or with money-

matters, or with the companions in whom he trusted, or with your other children.

"For the rest of your letter, it is quite unintelligible to me. Your son, I am sure, loves you, and although separated in place, is not in affections, and hopes with you to please and bless Him for ever, Who has redeemed us with His own most precious Blood.

"Yours faithfully,

"E. B. PUSEY."

[*Sept.* 5, 1881.]

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I beg respectfully, as a father, to sympathise with your sorrow; for sorrow *is* sorrow, little ground as there may be for it. The chief ground which you mention for your sorrow seems to be your fear for your son's salvation. But surely, since he has always led a very pure, blameless life, and has always had a very simple, childlike love and faith and trust in Jesus; and 'Jesus only' is his simple motto (so to say) you may trust him to Him Whose alone he desires to be.

"With regard to your good wife, when I had the pleasure of being acquainted with her, what sorrows she had were from another source; she spoke to me as one who has heart and mind wrapped up in the wishes and interests of her son Joseph, and she had not the slightest sorrow from his having assumed the dress which he wore.

"I never withdrew your son from you. When I first saw him he had the same affection for you which I am sure that he still has; but I

do not suppose that he ever imbibed your controversial opinions. They do not enter into the religion of childhood or youth. He had his convictions, and he had them before I saw him. Your controversialist opinions, I suppose, are represented by our controversialist, though devout, Nonconformists; your son's belief, as well as my own, was formed by the teaching of the Prayer Book. But I had personally nothing to do with forming it. When I first saw him, he was already in Deacon's Orders. So having to teach others, it was his duty to have definite religious convictions, and he had them before he saw me.

"Even as to the choice of a single life, I gathered from his own language when I first saw him, that God was drawing him to the single life.

"You will hardly suppose, in the face of S. Luke xiv. 26; S. Matt. xix. 12; and 1 Cor. vii. 32-40, that you would be infallibly right, if you should imagine that none are so drawn.

"Article XXXII is probably an authority with you too; but it says of the marriage of the clergy that 'it is lawful for them also, as for all Christian men, to marry at their discretion; as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.' It is obvious from the language itself, that they may judge it to 'serve better to godliness' not to marry. But if they judge so rightly in their own individual case, they must, of course, be guided by the Holy Spirit of God, from Whom alone all holy desires can come.

"The words of the Marriage Service are still stronger; for it speaks of 'the gift of

continency' : but a gift, offered by God, could not be rejected, without despising Him Who offered it.

"Having learned from your son that he thought that God so drew him, and had given him this gift, I cheered him on his way, but that was all. There was no vow.[1]

"Your mind seems to me to run, not upon the thing, but upon a word—'Monk'; and to have attached to this word all the wickednesses which modern controversialists have associated with it. I myself believe that the evils, even in the bad times before Henry VIII's avaricious dissolution of the monasteries, were exaggerated. Such, I believe, is the impartial judgement now common, upon investigation of documents.

"But Monks there were in very early times. S. Chrysostom, whose prayer we use daily in our Morning and Evening Service, became a Monk at twenty-one, not to mention other great Fathers. Monks have been among the greatest benefactors of mankind.

"S. Basil, too, had Monks and made rules for them : and though, of course, I do not claim for S. Basil or any other individual to have been infallible, yet neither would you claim to be infallible in asserting that he was mistaken. He is quoted as an authority in our homilies, besides that he lived in the times which they speak of as 'most uncorrupt and pure.' S. Benedict also was born in 480, not thirty years after the Fourth General Council.

[1] Father Ignatius took his vows before the Rev. George Drury.

"What, then, I have regretted about the transmitting of that dress to your son is, that I transmitted it under a wrong impression of the way in which your son would use it. My own conviction is, that it is better not to make marked outward changes in things done for God. I had not in my mind that he would wear the dress in any marked way. I thought that it was to be a mere reminiscence to him of his purpose to lead a single life devoted to God.

"But the impulse to the life which he has adopted since his return from Belgium was, as I before reminded you, received in his residence, I know not why, with his family for some months in that country. (I know not whether you were there.) I understood afterwards that, having nothing else to do, he spent his time in visiting the Benedictine convents, and he came back, believing himself to have a vocation to unite with others in restoring the Benedictine Order in the English Church.

"But this simply implied that he would live according to the Rule of S. Benedict, the wisdom of which has been admired by those who have lived in the world. If God should give him wisdom, I saw no reason why the attempt should not be made. The Benedictine has been and is a noble Order; there has not been a breath against it. All Europe is full of its praises.

"But for details I was not responsible. You write to me as if I were your son's 'confessor.' I do not remember whether I ever heard a confession of your son's. Certainly

I may say that I have not heard one for more than the last twenty years. I have had nothing to do with any of the details of his life.

"I paid, as you remind me, £100 for him on some emergency. I forget why there was no time to apply to you, who had money of your son's in your hands. The occasion was pressing; the demand legal. I paid it, out of the affection which I bore to your son. But your son, of course, could not wish that the payment should cripple me; so with his concurrence, I asked you to repay it out of money of his, which I understood from him you had in your hands.

"I would only add that my ground for thinking that it may have been well that your son was not ordained priest was not what you put into my mouth—'Because a deacon has a larger scope for lawlessness in this world with impunity.' But in your present state of mind, in which you are ready to distort every thing against him, there would be no good in my saying it.

"You speak of his ordination vow. I do not see any thing in his life contrary to his vow at ordination; the deacon's is a very inferior office; preaching is no part of the duty of a deacon, unless he be expressly 'admitted by the Bishop himself.' Nor has any Bishop, as far as I know, forbidden him as a deacon to lead the life which he now leads.

"The life of your son ought to be a life of prayer.

"They also work who pray: they also

fight who pray. When Moses held up his hands Israel prevailed.

"We have, amid the desolating attacks of Satan, much reason for increased prayer. A life of prayer must be acceptable to Him Who calleth Himself the Hearer of prayer.

"Your letter, my dear sir, bristles with controversy. Controversy, indeed, seems to me, unconsciously to yourself, to be its chief object. I have confined myself to what relates to your son.

"Accept of every good wish, and believe me,

"Your faithful servant,

"E. B. PUSEY."

"I have acted on your request, that I would write by an amanuensis, which I am not aware that you had before asked me to do."

[*Sept.* 27, 1881.]

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have only to add to my former letter that I have never taught your son or any one else 'to pray to the Virgin Mary.' You repeat it three times, and found a good deal of declamation against me upon it. On the contrary, any one who reads my books would know that I have always discouraged it.

"I have had nothing to do with your son's monastery; nor with his making collections 'on the public platform' (which seems to dwell upon your mind); nor with his calling himself 'Father Ignatius,' or taking the title of Abbot; nor had I with his study of the Benedictine Order (greatly as I admire it, which,

however, he did not know) when with his family in Belgium, nor with his going to Belgium at all, where he acquired the wish to revive the Benedictine Order in the Church of England (on the contrary, I should have advised against his going to Belgium, had I been asked). I simply transmitted the dress (which I had never seen, and which I was asked to transmit), and this, I have said to you, I regret, on grounds which I have stated to you. What I encouraged him in was (the word which you could not read must have been, I should think), the celibate life, to which I believed that God called him. Long subsequently I heard, with surprise and interest, that one had given him the site of an old Abbey, in which to carry on his plans; and I hoped that it was God's doing, and that He would give him wisdom, and prosper him. I have since heard that one whom he trusted behaved ill and turned against him; of details I heard but little, and believed less. The old proverb says: '*Fama mendax*—Report is a liar.'

"I do not trouble you with any answer to the rest of your letter, because it would be merely repeating what I have said already, and since your letter is to be printed, it is meant not for me or for your family only, but for publication. You seem to me to fit on queerly to one subject what I said on another.

"Whatever mistakes your son may have made (and mistakes we all make), I am sure that he still loves 'Jesus only.' I wish that you judged him and me, and the Ritualists and others who do not agree with you, less hardly.

We are both (as you tell me) drawing nearer to the Judgement-Seat of Christ. When, by His mercy, we meet on the other side, I suppose one of the first things which we shall do will be to express our sorrow for any hard things which any of us said to any other.

"Meantime, let me, in true love, recall to you the words—'Judge not. . . . For with what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.'

"Yours very faithfully in Christ Jesus,

"E. B. PUSEY."

CHAPTER IX.

ROMANISM AND REUNION.

The long conflict with Unbelief, described in the preceding chapter, led Pusey, by a way wholly unforeseen, into fresh conflict with Rome. In the preface to his pamphlet on the legal force of the Judgment on *Essays and Reviews*, he had said that some Roman Catholics seemed to be in an "ecstasy of triumph at the victory of Satan," though others were "saddened" by any thing which weakened "the great bulwark against infidelity in this land." This, it must be confessed, was rather provocative language: it attributed to certain Roman Catholics an unhallowed sympathy with Satan, while it implied that others of that communion considered the Church of England a valuable agency for the maintenance of Faith.

In 1864, when Pusey published this startling statement, Cardinal Wiseman was still at the head of the Roman Catholic Church in England; but he was in declining health; and Henry Edward Manning, who succeeded him in the following year, was already the most prominent figure among his co-religionists. Manning was not at all the man to let the

Church of England enjoy even an oblique and parenthetical commendation, if he could put a spoke in the wheel; so, at the close of 1864, he published an open letter to Pusey on "The Workings of the Holy Spirit in the Church of England." In this letter, he disclaimed (as well he might) all sympathy with Satan, but was at great pains to show that the Church of England was not a true Church, and that no Roman Catholic would think her so. He utterly denied that the Church of England was a "bulwark against Infidelity." Contrariwise, he maintained that she was a "cause and spring of unbelief," by reason of the fact that she herself had rejected Divine truths.

As soon as this letter was published, Pusey determined to reply to it; but he was, as usual, very busy; his thoughts about the best method of replying varied from time to time; and, in the long run, his reply was not launched till the autumn of 1865. It took the form of an "Eirenicon" in an open letter to "The Author of *The Christian Year*," and it bore the rather cumbrous title—*The Church of England a portion of Christ's One Holy Catholic Church and a means of restoring Visible Unity*.

Pusey begins with some smaller matters personal to Manning and himself, and then he goes on to the serious allegation that the Church of England is a "cause and spring of unbelief." He contrasts this severe statement with the more generous language used by eminent Roman Catholics in days gone by; and then he shows, at length and in detail, the great amount of truth held in common by the

Church of Rome and the Church of England. He reasserts his old contention that the quarrel of the English Church is, not with the authoritative faith of Rome as defined by the Council of Trent, but with a working and popular system of unauthorized beliefs and practices. In particular, he insists that the modern devotions to the Blessed Virgin are unscriptural and un-Catholic, and form the principal barrier in the way of union between the two Churches. He vindicates, on grounds of history, theology, and present experience, the claim of the English Church to be a part of Christ's One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. He cites the Eastern Churches and their refusal to admit the Roman Supremacy, as corroborating the position of the English Church, and he throws out a suggestion that the English Church, being independent both of Rome and of the East, may be the medium appointed by God for the reunion of both with one another, with herself, and with those separated bodies of Protestant Christians who accept the Catholic Creed. "The organic reunion of Christendom, and of the Protestant bodies too, has been held to be possible, even by the Ultramontanes in the Roman Church," and glorious indeed would be the privilege of helping to realize it. He concludes thus—

"The strife with Unbelief stretches and strains the powers of the Church everywhere; Satan's armies are united, at least in their warfare against 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' Are those who would maintain the faith in Him alone to be at variance? On the terms which

Bossuet, we hope, would have sanctioned, we long to see the Church united; to all who, in East or West, desire to see intercommunion restored among those who hold the faith of the undivided Church, we say—'This is not our longing only; this is impressed on our Liturgy by those who were before us; for this, whenever we celebrate the Holy Eucharist, we are bound to pray, that God "would inspire continually the Universal Church with the Spirit of truth, unity, and concord."' For this I pray daily. For this I would gladly die. 'O Lord, tarry not.'"

The Eirenicon was received with unexpected cordiality by Pusey's Anglican friends, and even the Puritans forbore to accuse him of complicity in a Popish plot. The sincerity of his appeal was so palpable, so pathetic, that it "put to silence the ignorance of foolish men." But Newman's response caused the ever-sanguine Pusey profound disappointment. Towards Pusey personally, Newman was as kind and cordial as ever; but he made a piquant reply to the Eirenicon in a public "Letter to the Rev. E. B. Pusey." In this letter, he contended that Pusey, in his desire to make his loyal Anglicanism known to all men, had strained the case against modern Mariolatry, and had thereby made his appeal more polemical than conciliatory. "There was one of old time who wreathed his sword in myrtle; excuse me—you discharge your olive-branch as if from a catapult."

But there were Roman Catholics—notably

some of the French prelates—who took the Eirenicon in a more friendly spirit, and encouraged Pusey to persevere in his attempts to procure mutual recognition, and in due time, corporate reunion, between the Churches of England and Rome. For the next four years he pursued this elusive ideal with unremitting ardour. He corresponded with Newman and others whom he thought favourable; he paid visits to sympathizers on the Continent; he published a second[1] and a third Eirenicon,[2] designed to remove misunderstandings which the first had created; and he looked forward, with the most touching faith and hope, to the Vatican Council which was summoned to assemble at the close of 1869. He seems to have felt a kind of moral assurance that so great an assemblage of Catholic Bishops, meeting under the invocation of the Holy Spirit, must be led to regard with goodwill all endeavours to restore the broken unity of Christ's Mystical Body. In this, Pusey was only one of many devout Christians who, completely unacquainted with the spirit which governs the practice of the Papacy, looked forward to the meeting of the Vatican Council as to the dawn of a Golden Age. The tragical nature of the disappointment which awaited them may be read in the secret history of many a shattered faith and many a ruined life.

In January, 1870, Pusey wrote :—"The Council looks as unlike any assembly guided by God the Holy Ghost as one could well

[1] *First Letter to the Very Rev. J. H. Newman.*
[2] *Is Healthful Reunion impossible?*

imagine. All seems to be done by human policy or stayed by human fears." That policy and those fears produced the result which had been so long premeditated and so carefully designed, and on July 18, 1870, Papal Infallibility was defined as an article of faith.

In the previous April, Newman had written: "If it is God's Will that the Pope's infallibility is defined, then it is God's Will to throw back 'the times and the moments' of that triumph which He has destined for His kingdom, and I shall feel that I have but to bow my head to His adorable, inscrutable Providence." These words of a life-long friend probably expressed the feelings with which Pusey saw the destruction of his pious hopes. So far as outward action is concerned, he meddled no more with the ghost of "Healthful Reunion"; and he altered the title of his third Eirenicon to—*Healthful Reunion, as conceived possible before the Vatican Council.*

In 1882 he wrote to a friend—"The Vatican Council was the greatest sorrow I ever had in a long life."

CHAPTER X.

CHOLERA—RITUALISM—KEBLE COLLEGE—GLADSTONE.

In summarizing Pusey's attempts to promote the Reunion of Christendom, I have slightly departed from the chronological order, to which I now return. The first Eirenicon was published in 1865. In the autumn of that year, the cholera made its appearance in different parts of England, and in the following summer it raged at the East End of London. The fact is only recorded here, because the outbreak gave Pusey the opportunity of retiring a while from controversy, and busying himself in those bodily works of mercy on which, in their relation to the Last Judgment, he always laid such insistent stress. His biographers print a letter from the Rev. Septimus Hansard, sometime Rector of Bethnal Green, which gives a graphic and delightful account of Pusey's visit to the plague-stricken parish in August, 1866.

"His pleasant smile, his genial manner, his hearty sympathy expressed in a manner so winning and sincere, at once introduced him.

. . . He offered to act as my assistant-curate to visit the sick and dying, whom I could not visit, in my stead, and to minister to their spiritual wants. And he did so. Quietly and unobtrusively, this true gentleman, this humble servant of Christ, assisted me in this most trying duty of visiting the plague-stricken homes of the poor of Bethnal Green. . . . I served on the committee of the hospital with Dr. Pusey, and very often I met him at the bedside of the patients—simple, tender-hearted, and full of sympathy. He was always ready at the Committee Meetings with practical advice on such matters as raising and managing funds, and always cheerful, always hopeful. If the word 'sweet' had not become somewhat canting, I should say that there was something inexpressibly sweet in the smile and quiet laughter which so brightened his face when he was pleased and hopeful."

Here, again, is a happy touch, contributed by the doctor, who, in conjunction with the Devonport Sisters, tended Bethnal Green in this time of plague. "Dr. Pusey asked me how the different patients were progressing. I answered that I could not lead some Jewish patients to do what was necessary. He smiled, and said: 'I will go and speak Hebrew to them, and then perhaps we shall succeed better.'" It is pleasant to dwell on that picture of the Regius Professor of Hebrew instilling sanitary lessons into the obstinate Israelites of Bethnal Green.

This ministry of mercy being happily

accomplished, Pusey was speedily recalled to controversial work. His duty now was to defend what had come to be called "Ritualism," as expressing what he held to be revealed truth about the Sacrament of the Altar. Some attempts, very mild at first, to promote order and comeliness in Divine worship had marked the whole course of the Catholic Revival. Nothing was done by leaps or bounds. It was a case of very gradual development—line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little, and there a little. 1860 may be taken as, approximately, the birth-date of Ritualism, for it was in or about that year that the use of the chasuble, with the rest of the Eucharistic vesture, was first restored at our English Altars. During the next five or six years there was a good deal of commotion about this and similar restorations, and it would probably be admitted by most people that the early zeal of Ritualism was not always according to knowledge. During the autumn of 1866, there was an outbreak of anti-Ritualist passion in the *Times;* and in the February of 1867 the English Bishops—the *semper pavidi*—endeavoured to conciliate public opinion by passing a Resolution on Ritualism, which seemed to imply censure of the doctrine which Ritual expresses. This Resolution, which was really a covert blow at revealed truth, brought Pusey promptly into the field; and he published a sermon[1] which he had preached before the University on February 3,

[1] "Will ye also go away?"

with a preface and appendix. In the sermon he reaffirms, in simple words, the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, "as the Church of old ever understood it, and our own also." In the preface, he recalls the various occasions on which, beginning with the condemned sermon of 1843, he has "stated at large his grounds for his faith"; and in the appendix, after referring to the Episcopal Resolution, he gives his opinion on Ritual. "This so-called Ritualist movement was eminently a lay movement. We, the clergy, had taught the truth; the people had said, 'Set it before our eyes.' Although I have never taken part in the Ritualist movement, I believed and believe that the object of that movement had been to set before the eyes Catholic truths in regard to the Holy Eucharist, which have ever been received in the Church. . . . Believing that it was attacked on the ground of truths which is exhibited, I defended it. When those are tolerated who deny Hell and the truth of God's Word, it seemed little to ask that *they* might be tolerated, whose only object it was to set forth the faith as to the Holy Eucharist, as it has been received, *semper, ubique, et ab omnibus.*" What that faith is, Pusey goes on to show with his accustomed plainness and fullness: and he ends with this personal challenge:—

"These truths I would thankfully have to maintain, by the help of God, on such terms, that, if (*per impossible,* as I trust) it should be decided by a competent authority, that either the Real Objective Presence, or the Eucharistic

Sacrifice, or the worship of Christ there present (as I have above stated those doctrines) were contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, I would resign my office. Extra-judicial censures, or contradictions, or opinions, if directed against faith or truth, condemn none but their authors. Censures and criticisms of Bishops in 1841-45 have passed away, except in mournful effects upon individuals; the system which they criticised has lived, strengthened, rooted deeper through adversity."

In this connexion, it is expedient to study the Declaration on Eucharistic Belief and Worship, which in May, 1867, Pusey signed in common with twenty leaders of the Catholic party. His biographers dismiss it in a foot-note; but it remains, as far as I know, the most precise and formal statement of his mind on the subjects under consideration. It will be found in Appendix B to this volume.

The great event of 1868, so far as Pusey was concerned, was the establishment of Keble College, as a memorial to that true saint and poet who had died at Hursley on March 29, 1866. The form which the memorial should take was determined in some measure by the movement in favour of abolishing Religious Tests in the University. This, as Pusey's biographers justly observe, was "practically a measure of Church Disendowment, for its effect would be that offices which had hitherto been tenable only by Churchmen would in future be thrown open to all candidates irrespective of their religious opinions." The prospect of this change filled Pusey with

misgivings about the future of Religion in Oxford, and made him all the more zealous to establish in that great centre of intellectual life a permanent stronghold for Catholic faith and practice. The foundation-stone of Keble College was laid by Archbishop Longley on S. Mark's Day, 1868, and, at a great meeting in the Sheldonian Theatre, Pusey made an impressive speech on the religious position and future of the University. In his peroration he quoted, with excellent effect, the lines which had been suggested to Keble's mind by the sight of Oxford rising out of the submerged country round. "So now, be Oxford beleaguered as it may, or by whom it may —be it that, as the writer of *The Christian Year* said, with presaging mind, some thirty years ago, viewing it from Bagley encircled by the overflowing waters—

> 'The flood is round thee, but thy towers as yet
> Are safe'—

yet safe, as he thought and felt, only by prayer —the stone which has been placed this day by our Church's Primate has, we trust, been founded on the firm Rock, Which is Christ, and the College to be raised thereon will be like that far-famed beacon on our southern shores, built stone by stone out at sea, amidst the tumult of the waters, well knit together."

In the larger world, 1868 was made memorable by Mr. Gladstone's first attack on the Irish Church. Parliament was dissolved in November. The General Election gave a

great majority for Irish Disestablishment, and Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister. He had sat for the University of Oxford from 1847 to 1865. Pusey had always supported him, mainly on religious grounds, and at the General election of 1865 had served on his Committee. After that Election he wrote to a triumphant Tory :—

"You are naturally rejoicing over the rejection of Mr. Gladstone, which I mourn. Some of those who concurred in that election, or who stood aloof, will, I fear, mourn hereafter with a double sorrow because they were the cause of that rejection. I, of course, speak only for myself, with whatever degree of anticipation may be the privilege of years. Yet, on the very ground that I may very probably not live to see the issue of the momentous future now hanging over the Church, let me, through you, express to those friends from whom I have been separated, who love the Church in itself, and not the accident of Establishment, my conviction that we should do ill to identify the interests of the Church with any political party; that we have questions before us, compared with which that of the Establishment (important as it is in respect to the possession of our Parish Churches) is as nothing. The grounds alleged against Mr. Gladstone bore at the utmost upon the Establishment. The Establishment might perish, and the Church but come forth the purer. If the Church were corrupted, the Establishment would become a curse in proportion to its influence. As that conflict will

thicken, Oxford, I think, will learn to regret her rude severance from one so loyal to the Church, to the Faith, and to God."

But now a deeper severance was at hand. Though Gladstone had ceased to represent Oxford, still he and Pusey had continued to co-operate in matters affecting the Church and the University, and their relations were those of cordiality and intimacy. When Gladstone became Prime Minister, he took office with the fixed intention to offer the first bishopric which became vacant to Dr. Moberly, formerly Headmaster of Winchester, whom he considered to have been unjustly, and of set purpose, passed over. So Moberly succeeded Bishop Hamilton at Salisbury in the summer of 1869, and this was, of course, an arrangement which gave Pusey complete satisfaction : but in the following autumn Gladstone nominated Dr. Temple, Headmaster of Rugby, to succeed the nonagenarian Phillpotts in the See of Exeter. This was too much for Pusey. Temple had been a contributor to *Essays and Reviews;* and, though his own contribution was absolutely innocuous, Pusey insisted on identifying him with the errors of all his fellow-Essayists ; and addressed to Gladstone a letter, of which the recipient said in later years, "It was a most improper letter—a letter which Pusey had no business to write." Probably it was couched in language quite inconsistent with that thick atmosphere of toadyism by which Prime Ministers live encircled. Anyway, Pusey bade Gladstone "a sorrowful farewell" and, in doing so "sacrificed," as

his biographers say, "a deepening friendship of forty years."

Two years later, Dr. Liddon patched up a kind of reconciliation between the two men; and, in the year preceding Pusey's death, they had an affecting interview with one another. Pusey described this interview in words which are given in the preface to his *Spiritual Letters* :—"He was so affectionate: when he went away he kissed my hand, and knelt down, and asked for my blessing."

When we consider who the two men were, and what they had done, it is difficult to picture a more impressive scene.

On the 21st of September, 1882, Gladstone was one of the pall-bearers at Pusey's funeral. He wrote :—"I go to his obsequies in token of deep respect, and in memory of much kindness from him early in my life."

CHAPTER XI.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED—RITUALISM —CONFESSION.

In the year 1870 the Royal Commission, which had been appointed in 1867 to enquire into Ritualism, issued its fourth report. This report recommended, among other changes, the insertion, after the Athanasian Creed, of a note explaining the Damnatory Clauses. The note was perfectly harmless, but a large majority of the Commissioners had wished for a more subversive change; and the Archbishop of Canterbury[1] openly declared in favour of disusing the Creed in Divine Service. When Tait was Bishop of London, and was persecuting the Ritualists in his diocese, Newman had said of him: "He is tender towards Free-thinkers and stern towards Romanizers.
Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas."
This was true of him all through his public life; and now he thought that he was going to carry the suppression of the Athanasian Creed with a high hand, trampling on scruples of conscience, and crushing opposition by an Act

[1] Dr. Tait.

of Parliament. Fortunately for the Church, he went to war, not for the first or last time, without counting the forces opposed to him. Among those forces, and the chief of them, was Pusey. The subject was brought up in Convocation, and the Bishops, *pavidi* again, and always apt to be terrified by Tait, spoke with very ambiguous voices. As soon as Pusey knew for certain what was proposed, he wrote an urgent letter of remonstrance to his former diocesan, Samuel Wilberforce, who had now become Bishop of Winchester. In the course of the letter he said :—

"It seems to be thought that those who have faith may always be sacrificed with impunity to those who have none. I have fought the battle of the Faith for more than half my life. I have tried to rally people to the Church when other hearts failed. But, if the Athanasian Creed is touched, I see nothing but to give up my Canonry, and abandon my fight for the Church of England. It would not be the same Church for which I have fought hitherto. I should not doubt myself that Liddon would do the same. . . . We have endured much; but we cannot endure having one of our Creeds rent from us."

Liddon immediately joined forces with his spiritual master; expressed the same conviction about the heinousness of tampering with the Creed, and announced the same intention with regard to his Canonry at S. Paul's. This bold stand produced a rapid and significant effect. Tait declared against any material alteration in the terms of the Creed, alleging as his ground

the fear of a split in the Church; but, in spite of these temporizing counsels, his heart was still set on forcing the Creed out of public worship, and he was perpetually goaded to more violent conduct by his ally, Dean Stanley, to whom all definite faith was a positive affront. So all through 1871 and 1872 the campaign against the Creed went forward, with constantly-changing fortunes and uncertain results. The additional anxieties and labours which it entailed told heavily on Pusey's health; but he gathered all his physical and mental energies for a great sermon on "The Responsibility of Intellect in Matters of Faith," which he preached before the University on Advent Sunday, 1872. The theme of this sermon is that Intellect is a great trust confided to us by God; that we are responsible to Him for the use of it; and that we must exercise it in submission to His revealed Will. What He has declared, that it is our duty to believe. Our Lord Himself had uttered the most solemn warnings against wilful unbelief; the Athanasian Creed only re-echoed His awful words; and the storm which assailed the Creed was really directed against the Revealed Truth of God. "This tornado will, I trust by God's mercy, soon pass; it is a matter of life and death. To remove those words of warning, or the Creed because it contains them, would be emphatically to teach our people that it is *not* necessary to salvation to believe faithfully the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, or in One God as He has made Himself known to us. It would be to be ashamed of Him and of

His words, upon which those words are founded."

Immediately after delivering himself of this great apology for the Faith, Pusey went abroad for the benefit of his health. But at Genoa he was laid low by a severe attack of bronchitis, followed by pneumonia, and for ten days, in January, 1873, he lay dangerously ill. Recovering by slow degrees, he returned to Oxford for the Summer Term; and the present writer well remembers the crowd of ancient penitents who thronged his door in Christ Church—like the impotent folk round the Pool of Bethesda. His recovery was now accelerated by the victorious issue of the long campaign. In May, 1873, it was agreed in Convocation that the Athanasian Creed should be retained unmutilated, and should be used in public worship as before. At the same time, a Synodical Declaration on the meaning of the "Damnatory Clauses" was put forth; but it was perfectly innocuous, and the victory was complete.

No sooner was the Athanasian controversy closed than a controversy about Confession began. In the summer of 1873 a petition was presented to Convocation, signed by 483 clergymen, and requesting, amongst other things, that the Bishops would "consider the advisability of providing for the education, selection, and licensing of duly-qualified confessors." This petition produced a really splendid storm. Lord Shaftesbury detected a fatal parallelism between the number of the

signatories, and the four hundred prophets who ate at Jezebel's table. At Exeter Hall the petition was denounced as "a foul rag stained with all the pollutions of the Red Lady of Babylon." A Conservative M.P. wrote: "I look upon the Confessional as the masterpiece of Satan in enslaving the souls of men." In the face of such an outburst, of course the Bishops trembled, and presently published a Declaration intended to allay the storm by minimizing and discouraging Confession. Thereupon, Pusey saw clearly that a counter-blast was needed, and, calling to his assistance some of his most trusted friends, he drew up, in the autumn of 1873, a Declaration on Confession and Absolution. His biographers say that "he spent more thought over the declaration than over any other work of the kind in which he had been engaged." In December, 1873, it was published in the *Times*, with the signatures of twenty-nine clergymen. It will be found in Appendix C.

The great event of the year 1874 was the Public Worship Regulation Act. The Bill was brought in by Archbishop Tait to "put down Ritualism." So the truth was bluntly expressed by Disraeli, who had just become Prime Minister for the second time; and, believing the Bill to be popular, he adopted it and facilitated its passage. It became law at the end of the Session. This may be a convenient point for considering the whole question of Pusey's relation to Ritual.

He had by nature no inclination to form or

pomp or ceremony; but he realized the value of Beauty as an expression of the Divine Nature; and he foresaw from very early days that the revival of Eucharistic doctrine in the Church must issue in a revival of Eucharistic ceremonial. In his view, the doctrine was the germ, and the ceremonial would be the flower. As years went on, and the development which he foresaw took place, he gradually adapted his own practice to changed conditions. When celebrating at his own private Altar he wore only a surplice and scarf; in churches or chapels where the Eucharistic Vestments were used, he always wore them. With beautiful charity, he celebrated at the North End of the Altar in Christ Church, lest the Eastward Position should disturb two of the older Canons; but, if they were absent, he celebrated eastwards. When the Mixed Chalice was declared illegal, he began to use It in celebrating, as a protest against a decision which condemned "our Blessed Lord's mode of celebration." For these points he contended with all his force. "It is a grand fight, and enough to make one twenty years younger." But he profoundly dreaded, and, where he had the power, dissuaded, the introduction of Ceremonial which a congregation was unwilling to accept; he was apprehensive lest an undue attention to the outward and visible part of the worship should interfere with the inward and spiritual part; and, while he was in favour of every thing which taught the Eucharistic Verity by the eye, he disliked what he considered unmeaning forms. "I do not know," he said, "that

censing persons and things has any thing to do with setting forth the Real Presence. . . . To the mass of the English people (and among them to me) it is an un-understood rite. Three different explanations of it have been given me by Ritualists." He saw that, as time went on, a fuller ceremonial might become desirable because it would be intelligible, but for the time being he counselled his friends to be content with the Eastward Position, the Vestments, the Mixed Chalice, and Hymns during the Communion or at the end of the service. "I take it," he said, "that what sets people against Ritualism is chiefly that the service of the Holy Eucharist is in many churches really a different service. Taking into account what is left out and what is put in, is not half adscititious? The Commandments are left out, and the prayer for the Queen, and the exhortation (how much more I don't know); then hymns are put in. Would it be in the proportion—half left out and as much put in?"

In 1875 Pusey was a great deal occupied in the second of two Conferences held at Bonn, with a view to the union of Old Catholics, Anglicans, and Orientals. The special interest of the second Conference in Pusey's mind was that it was concerned with the *Filioque* in the Nicene Creed. Pusey was resolute for maintaining it; vehemently opposed the policy of surrendering it in the hope of satisfying the Eastern Churches; and watched the abortive issue of the Conference without regret. To his

immovably conservative theology, it seemed that the disappearance of the *Filioque* would "prepare the way for the abandonment of the expression of our belief in the mode of existence of Almighty God—*i.e.*, in God as He is." Certainly, in view of the history of the *Filioque*, this was an amazing conclusion.

On S. Mark's day, 1876, the new Chapel of Keble College was opened by Archbishop Tait, and Pusey preached. The Archbishop wrote in his diary, "We went to church at 7.30 a.m., and the service for the opening of the Chapel was not over till 7.30 p.m. For myself, I did not hear one single sentence of Dr. Pusey's sermon, or even the text." This inaudible discourse (published under the title, *Blessed are the Meek*), drew a beautiful picture of the "meekness" which was the groundwork of Keble's character. "He, whom to-day we commemorate, cast the cooling shadow of his lowliness over all."

"You," said Pusey to the Undergraduates, "have come here . . . to cultivate your powers, as he, whose name and memory is your founder, did; who, when but twenty, had gained all the higher honours here, and in whose clear, brilliant, penetrating eye, after above fifty years of toil . . . that intellect shone unto the end; and 'the seraph's fire that burned within, flung its glory over eye and lip and brow.'"

In 1877 another storm broke over the subject of Confession. An ill-judged book for the use of confessors got (it was believed by equivocal means) into hands for which it was not

intended, and scandalous misuse was made of it in Parliament and elsewhere. The usual clamour arose, and Pusey saw that he must once again intervene in this ever-recurring debate. He had no personal responsibility for the book in question, but he saw quite clearly that the battle was not about a particular book, but about Confession itself. "Are we," he said, "to seem to give this up and carry it on *sub rosâ?* This would be very un-English, and give a great and real handle against us. If we do not maintain the system of Confession, plainly and unreservedly, quiet, gentle people will go to Rome for it and it alone." Moved by this consideration Pusey now completed a work which he had long ago taken in hand, and published in 1878, *Advice for those who exercise the Ministry of Reconciliation through Confession and Absolution.* This was an amended and adapted version of the Abbé Gaume's Manual for Confessors, and to it Pusey prefixed a profoundly interesting narrative of the revival of Confession within the preceding forty years; adding a catena of Anglican divines which established, even more firmly than before, the Anglican tradition on the subject.

In the summer of 1878 he prepared his remarkable sermon on "Un-science, not science, adverse to Faith;" but, owing to that increasing huskiness which had interfered with the delivery of the sermon on Keble, it was delivered for him by Dr. Liddon. In the same year he wrote his last University sermon on "Prophecy of Jesus the Certain Prediction of

the (to man) impossible." This sermon was read for him by the Rev. F. Paget,[1] afterwards Bishop of Oxford.

In the next year—1879—he became involved in a controversy with the Rev. F. W. Farrar, Canon of Westminster,[2] on the "terrible subject," as he called it, of Eternal Punishment. Dr. Farrar had, in some publications on this topic, credited Pusey with doctrines which he did not hold; and this fact, apart from more general considerations, seemed to make it incumbent on him to reply. His preparations for doing so were sadly interrupted by the sudden death of his son Philip on January 15, 1880. Philip had been his father's inseparable companion, comforter, and coadjutor; and his death bowed Pusey to the earth. Henceforward his grandson, the Rev. J. E. B. Brine, lived with him and tended him with a son's devotion; and he soon was able to resume his lifelong habit of hard work. His reply to Dr. Farrar was published under the title, *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?* There is no need to recapitulate the argument; it may suffice to say that the book, though it could not wholly convince Dr. Farrar, cleared away some strange misunderstandings. Pusey demonstrated that the notion of material torture was

1 The sermon on "Un-science" was dedicated to Dr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Acland, Regius Professor of Medicine, who always maintained that Pusey had been one of the first to recognize the claims of Science to a place in the studies of the University.

2 Afterwards Dean of Canterbury.

no part of the Church's creed. He repudiated, with loving warmth, the awful opinion that the vast mass of mankind are lost. He maintained that such loss can only be incurred by wilful and persistent refusal of God's mercy; and he pointed out the cleansing office of the Intermediate State. On August 3, 1880, he wrote thus to Dr. Farrar :—

"It is a great relief to me that you can substitute the conception of a future purification for those who have not utterly extinguished the grace of God in their hearts. This, I think, would put you in harmony with the whole of Christendom."

CHAPTER XII.

LAST LABOURS—THE END.

So we draw on to the end; and it is pleasant to see that the closing years of this long and beautiful life were filled to overflowing with the appropriate energies of a loving heart and a sanctified will.

In January, 1881, Pusey published in the *Times* a generous appeal on behalf of the Ritualists who were prosecuted under Tait's Public Worship Regulation Act. "Whatever mistakes any of the Ritualists made formerly, no Ritualist would now, I believe, wish to make any change without the hearty goodwill of the people. . . . The Ritualists do not ask to interfere with the devotions of others—only to be allowed, in their worship of God, to use a Ritual which a few years ago no one disputed, and that only when their congregations wish it." One of the Archbishop's victims was the Rev. S. F. Green, Vicar of S. John the Evangelist, Miles Platting, who was imprisoned in Lancaster Castle. Pusey wrote:—"It looks so selfish to talk quietly about Mr. Green's remaining in Lancaster Castle, while oneself is in God's free air. . . . We all love liberty and free air, and power to work for our Lord. And

Mr. Green must lie, deprived of the power of working directly for souls and for his Lord, unless he will own, in fact, that he did amiss in following a simple direction of the Prayer Book, and giving to his people a service which they loved."

Moved to express his sympathy in some marked and public form, Pusey now published a Letter to Dr. Liddon, under the title (strange even for him) of *Unlaw in Judgements of the Judicial Committee, and its Results*. In this letter, he reviewed the history of the various Ecclesiastical cases before the Judicial Committee since 1850, and urged that there could be no peace in the Church till the Court was reformed, and its indefensible decisions reversed or superseded.

Now his last year on earth begins. On January 23, 1882, he writes from Christ Church :—" In these solid walls I have passed the winter very comfortably with my books, only ashamed of all the comfort which I have been living in."

The publication of a book of Reminiscences, chiefly about Oxford and the Movement, which Pusey thought inaccurate and mischievous, led him to destroy all old letters in which " any one said any thing of fault of any one." To a friend whose memory of the Movement coincided with his own he wrote :—" What you say of this past half-century has been wonderful. It was often on my lips—' This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.' There

was a little seed scattered, and what a harvest of souls! . . . Oh! then, long, and long, and long, and God will fill thee. More love, more love, more love!"

During the Summer Term of 1882 he delivered his Hebrew Lectures as usual, only stopping them before the end of term because his pupils were leaving Oxford. On June 15 he attended for the last time a meeting of the Governing Body of Christ Church, and the occasion was sufficiently remarkable to deserve a special account. One who was present at the scene writes as follows:—

"I shall never forget the last time that I saw Dr. Pusey alive: for the occasion was of acute and tragic interest. A question was put forward, which set all our nerves on the rack.

"Would the College appoint to a permanent official place on the Tutorial Staff one of the younger Fellows, who had publicly, in a book, declared himself against the Christian Creed?

"It was the first test-case that had turned up, since 'the Palmer Worm' [1] had completed the practical Disestablishment of the Church. How were we all going to behave?

"Some of the younger men were all for accepting the situation freely. Let the talents find their career open to them. Let a man be taken simply on his merits. Let the question of creed never come in, to determine his fitness for a post. The Church's great opportunity lies in flinging herself into the arena, asking

[1] Dr. Liddon's nickname for Lord Selborne, formerly Sir Roundell Palmer.

for no privilege. Given a fair field, and no favour, she need not be afraid. She will hold her own. She will win her proper influence. She will be accepted on her own account, without prejudice, if she ceases to press obsolete claims.

"So the young.

"But the older men said, The post in question is not merely intellectual, but pastoral, in character. The man is to have charge of young men, hardly more than boys. He will stand to them, as endowed with quasi-parental authority. Parents and guardians do not yet understand the situation. They send up their sons in the belief that they will find, in their Tutors and Teachers, a religious and a Christian support. They will think themselves outraged and cheated, if the Tutor is the man who suggests the doubts.

"Granted that we are to take a man on his merits, still this tutorial responsibility cannot be determined by Academic Honours. It depends on the active character—and we are free to say whether a man is, or is not, fitted morally to undertake it.

"A hot debate! It divided asunder those who were one in the Catholic Faith. We were all horribly strained when the day of decision arrived.

"And what was my amazement and horror, as I rounded the door into the room of debate, to see that, into the fray, the dear old man had been brought!

"He had long ceased to take part in College affairs. For years, none of us had seen him outside the door of his own house.

"But he had been deftly conveyed, without any warning to us. There he sat, propped up in his chair, swathed in vast rolls of incredible garments, with his grey eyes looking out from under the shaggy brows as if he had come from another world to speak to us.

"It was dreadful.

"Would he get through it alive? What if he died in his chair? Should we have killed him?

"He was too deaf to hear a word of the discussion. But he found a moment in which to speak; and out he poured, at risk of much choking, a tender personal appeal to us. He told us of the old, old days when he had gone to Germany; and had plumbed the depths of Rationalism. He knew all its perils. He had watched its insidious treacheries. As an old man, uttering last words out of long experience, in the face of death, he urged us to save the youth of England from the dangers and distresses of Doubt.

"Dear old man! I never loved him more. It was so fatherly: so real: so momentous: so loving. And yet! And yet!——

"We knew that the new circumstances demanded new handling. We had made up our minds. It was too late to over-awe us. So with white faces and sick hearts, we voted as we were bound to vote. We were right; yet we crept out of the room, sore as beaten curs."

On the following day, Pusey left his house in Christ Church—the home of fifty-three years—as it proved, for the last time. He had for

several years had a small house called "The Hermitage" at Ascot, adjacent to the Priory where the Devonport Sisters lived, and the Convalescent Home which they tended. He had always delighted in the pine-scented air of Ascot, and found that nothing did him so much good. So it was even now; throughout July he was well and cheerful, and, for him, even active. Towards the end of the month he began to flag. The Sisters, whose confessions he heard, thought that he had not been quite equal to himself. Still, on his eighty-second birthday—the 22nd of August—he seemed quite bright. Two days later he was less well; but he gathered strength to write to the *Times* one last appeal on behalf of Mr. Green, whose life in prison had just been described to him by a friend. "Here," he said, "we have all our comforts and this beautiful air to breathe, and all around us is happy and peaceful; while he, poor man, is in prison."

Dr. Liddon, who records this observation, records also his conviction that this brave effort of chivalrous sympathy precipitated the end. From August 25, Pusey's strength of body and mind progressively declined; still on August 31 he wrote yet one more protest in the *Times*, against an indecent and heartless falsehood concerning Mr. Green which a person signing himself "Vicar-General" had published. On September 4, he took to his bed and never left it. The end was seen to be approaching, but his splendid constitution kept the last enemy at bay. His family and his nearest friends gathered round him; he knew them, but could seldom speak. In the mental wandering which pre-

vailed during the night of September 15, he thought that he was performing those ministerial acts which had been the occupation and the glory of his life. He raised his hand, and pronounced the formula of Absolution over those who knelt by his bed; and repeatedly he said, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life."

On Saturday the 16th he seemed to be murmuring the *Te Deum*; and he passed away at three in the afternoon with the words—"My Lord and my God"—on his lips.

On S. Matthew's Day, September 21, 1882, Edward Bouverie Pusey was laid in the nave of Christ Church Cathedral, beside his wife and his two elder daughters.[1] The confession of Faith with which he began his will may suitably bring this narrative to a close:—

"I die in the Faith of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, believing *explicité* (as I have for many years declared) all which I know Almighty God to have revealed in her; and *implicité* every thing which He may have revealed in her which I may not know. I give my soul into the Hands of Almighty God, humbly beseeching Him to pardon all my sins, known to me or unknown, for the sole merits of the Blood of my Redeemer, Jesus Christ (one drop of Whose Precious Blood might cleanse the whole world), and interpose His Precious Death between me and my sins."

[1] Philip Pusey was buried in the Cathedral Churchyard.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARACTERISTICS.

THE story of Pusey's life, however imperfectly told, must have sufficiently indicated his theology. We have seen that he was educated in the traditional Churchmanship of the eighteenth century, and that, quite early in life, he made an excursion into some more "liberal" districts of theology, where he did not long abide. He has told us that, in his earliest years, he did not "know the Evangelicals"; but that, when he came to know them, he "loved them, because they loved our Lord"; and "loved them for their zeal for souls." That "love" and that "zeal" were indeed the most characteristic features of his own theology; and to these we might add a third feature which he shared with the Evangelical school—his profound reverence for the Written Word, and his habitual appeal to it in matters of Faith. In modern days we have been told that the right formula is, "The Church to teach, the Bible to prove." Pusey's method seems rather to have inverted this order. In each question as it arose, he looked first to see what the Bible taught; and, if that teaching was in any sense or degree ambiguous, he referred for

its interpretation to the consentient voice of Undivided Christendom.

Looking back upon the earlier days of the Oxford Movement, Pusey said, "We were learning then"; but it is evident that he soon acquired the special system of doctrine which the Tracts revived, and assimilated it thoroughly. The doctrine of the Real Presence had been continuously held and taught in the Church of England, but the Sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist had been generally obscured or forgotten. It is therefore significant to find that as early as 1837 Pusey chose as a subject to be considered by the Ecclesiastical Society which assembled at his house—"Historical account of the Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Anglican Church, as occurring in the several forms of her Liturgy." From first to last, the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, in all its aspects and all its applications, held a commanding place in his public and private teaching[1]; and the special characteristics of that teaching cannot be better summarized than in the following words of Dr. Scott Holland :—

"There is, first, the wonderful *awe* with which he hallows all his speech. This is so remarkable just because it is awe which familiarity seems to replenish instead of to dissolve or disturb. He is insisting on constant nearness to the Blessed Sacrament, he is surrounding It with incessant attention, with the routine of order and regular service, with accurate rules of preparation, with formal methods of intimacy. He himself is felt to be

[1] See Appendix B.

living, year by year, and day by day, in unfailing and familiar intercourse with Its Grace. It is to him necessary and near as his daily food. It has all the common and unquestioned frequency of air, and earth, and sky. Yet ever his awe and wonder grow. Nothing ceases of that hushed and thrilling rapture which belongs to strange surprises, to unanticipated discoveries, to sudden initiations. Nay, his reverence, his humiliation, his trembling, his fear, all seem to increase with the increase of familiarity; there is ever in his voice the sound of searching alarm, the sense of the fire about the Mount, into which no unclean thing may enter lest it be consumed. That Altar, near and dear as it is, is ringed round to him with unflagging terrors; his tones shake, his knees bow, his soul quivers, with the same wonderful awe as that with which a young child kneels, for the first time, in the hush of some still sanctuary, and hears the murmuring words of the priest who bends over him to lay, in the child-hands uplifted, the adorable Gift over which the bowing angels stoop, and gaze, and adore. It is not surprising to us that Moses, when he looked and saw in sudden amazement the Bush that flamed before him unconsumed, should turn aside, and take his shoes from off his feet, and hasten to bow his head to the ground; but it is most wonderful to us to see that at the end of the years, there should be one who still, as the Bush burns on continually, can hasten with untarnished freshness of soul to bow his head and worship, as fearfully and as tremblingly as when first he turned aside to

see the strange sight. To us, with our shallow emotions and jaded hearts, awe is, itself, almost become strange; it rarely reaches us: we can only attain to it in sudden moments of wonder; and, with familiarity, it dies out into the light of common day. But here is one for whom the concentration and the glory are no visionary and vanishing flights of startled feeling, but are abiding and inexhaustible presences, accompanying his steps to the end. It can only be thus when the fountains of the spirit open out in their lowest depths in response to a call that is no poetic fancy, but an appeal from the living and eternal God. Awe can only abide when deep answers unto deep.

"And then, secondly, no one can help feeling the *spirituality* of such Sacramentalism, as we find laid out in page after page of Dr. Pusey's addresses. We should have thought it impossible for any one who once had read them to indulge in crude contrasts between the carnal form and the inward spirit, or between technical dogmatism and the living faith. Every one can see that the entire belief rests on the robust reality of the actual event, which takes place on this or that Altar, through the mediation of a consecrated formula, used with exact ritualistic definiteness, over earthly elements that have been duly presented before God, and in the sight of the people, in literal obedience to sanctioned usage. Every one can detect how accurate and watchful and complicated a theology informs every fragment of his language. And yet the external and formal fact glows through and through with the

warmth of a heartfelt devotion, as a coal filled full with the splendour of flame. The outward form intensifies the heat. It supplies it with scope, and radiation, and vent. It feeds it with fuel. The flame leaps and rejoices, just because the material is given it; it knows a new strength, it glows with a new ardour, as it lays hold of this external matter, and fills it, and infolds it, and inhabits it, and absorbs it. A fire lives on the fuel given; and, to the flame of adoration, sacramental fact is the fuel that feeds it. Never, surely, has the heart of man bent itself to innermost Communion with the very Life of Jesus the Master and Lover of souls, in more direct, and evangelical, and unveiled contact than here is made known in every glowing word of love, and joy, and peace, and devotion. And the freedom of this delighted and fervent intercourse is built up by the constitutive reality of its dogmatic accuracy. The refinements of dogma are but the sensitive jealousies of a searching and intimate love; and such love does but prove its genuine liberty, the liberty of perfect knowledge, secure of itself and assured of its aim, when it exhibits its quivering alarm lest the least unworthiness of utterance should darken or confuse its free relations, its unhindered intermingling of life with life, and heart with heart. There, in writings like these, brimming with large out-pourings of inexhaustible affection, we can learn how love gains by understanding what it loves, how thought wins freedom by the distinction and the accuracy wherewith it can speak out its secrets. As the human spirit gains force and action by being

given a body, so the ardour of adoration would be cramped and ineffective if it could not clothe itself in fit expression; and just as the spirit's action is more perfect, the more elaborate and delicate its nerve-organisation, so the power of love reveals more wonderful possibilities in proportion to the delicate exactness of its technical language.

"Lastly, we would notice how it is this explicitness of apprehension which causes the third characteristic of Dr. Pusey's Eucharistic teaching, its marvellous *richness*. Implicit and unalterable faith may be strong, but it cannot be full. But, here, the inner strength of the faith which has been enabled to emerge, and to lay hold of its objective material, and to develop its distinct expression, exhibits itself in the fullness and the variety with which it can apply itself to the whole round of practical life, or make use of the entire wealth of the imagination and the emotions. Every thing seems to become Eucharistic under the Doctor's handling; every where the Sacramental blessing reaches. Look at the sun as it shines on all things, how in each it gives a new colour, and wakes a new revelation. It is on the flowers, and they leap into blue, and scarlet, and yellow. It is on the waters, and they shimmer and glisten. It is on the far hills, and they are steeped in the glow of purple and grey. It is the same light, yet for each it is a new differing glory. So, here, as we let our eyes travel through page after page, we are always in face of one thought, the thought of that Most Blessed Presence under the forms of Bread and

Wine, yet ever the thought offers novel variety of guidance, of direction, of illumination; ever it prompts a new motion of the desires, a new effort of the will, a new hope of the affections. It is in writings such as these that we learn something of the unfading efficacy of the Sacramental theology—the unfailing attraction of the Sacramental life—why it is that all other forms of adoration and communion, however real, cannot but appear imperfect, partial, inadequate, thin, meagre, shadowy, to those who have once felt this abundance, and have tasted of its treasures, and have sat at its feasts. To them it is known why word should be added to word in the effort to tell how the Eucharist has been to them both Hope, and Refuge, and Peace, and Sweetness, and Tranquillity, and Wisdom, and Portion, and Possession, and Treasure."

Enough has been said in previous pages to show Pusey's practical dealings with the topic of Confession and Absolution. It will not be out of place to let his own words on this grave subject be heard, as in 1876 they were heard in the University Church of Oxford.

After speaking of sin and the remedies for sin, the preacher said: "I could not bear to think, my sons, that any one of you here had grievously stained that 'white robe' which was given to you in Baptism, 'to bear it unspotted before the Judgement-Seat of our Lord Jesus Christ, to life eternal.' But should it in any case have been otherwise, through evil com-

panions or sudden stress of passion, or curiosity, you know how, through penitence, it may be cleansed anew by the Blood of Christ. And one special remedy, by His own authority, your Judge has told you of, and the Church repeats to you in His words, which He said to His Apostles—'*Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them.*' The Church has, since He left His Ministry to be carried on by men in His name, ever used that remedy in the case of grevious sins and found it health-giving .... I had occasion to say once to a Bishop,[1] who had great love for generations before you in this place: 'You know, my Lord, that for some sins of the young, Confession is *the* remedy.' He answered at once, 'Yes, it is,' and told me how he had himself seen it. Let others invent what non-natural explanation they will of our Lord's plain words, '*Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them*'; let them say, 'Man cannot forgive sins,' omitting to say that God, Who alone can forgive sins, can remit them through man; *their* witness is more valuable, who can say with the blind man in Gospel, 'I went and washed, and I received sight.' Our yearly season of special penitence is coming upon us, in which the Church again utters her protest against our careless ways and our neglect of 'godly discipline,' 'by which persons convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance, and punished in this world, that their souls might be saved in the Day of the Lord.' But then, because our modern habits and dread of shame

[1] Bishop Wilberforce.

nowhere, throughout Christendom, will endure this, she exhorts us the more to 'search and examine our own consciences by the rule of God's Commandments, and that not lightly, and after the manner of dissemblers with God.' 'Sift yourselves through and through, and so sift on,' says a prophet alike of God's tender love and holiness, not looking at yourself superficially, but examining closely what you have been, what in detail you are, as you shall see yourselves at the Judgement-Seat of Christ. Dare to behold yourselves, as far as you can, as His All-seeing Eye sees you; in what way you first fell into any sin which has since haunted you; what you should most fear, if our Lord came suddenly to judge. To what end to hide your eyes from them now, and behold them, if unrepented, to your condemnation at the Great Day? Do this, telling God that you desire to grieve, for love of Him, for whatever has offended Him; and then, if you have found it hard to carry on the strife by yourselves, if you would fain consult a physician who understands the sicknesses of the mind and their remedies, if you wish not to trust yourselves, but to hear the absolving voice of Christ before you see Him on His Judgement-throne, if you wish not only to hear your pardon pronounced in His Name, but to run your race Heavenward with increased strength and grace, you know to whom He, the Truth, has said—'*Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them.*'"

At this point, it is obvious to say a word

about the manner and style of Pusey's preaching. He had no pretensions to oratorical skill. He read every word, sometimes from a printed copy, in a low, deep, rather monotonous voice, which, in his later years, was husky and thick. His sermons were immensely long, packed with patristic learning, and exhaustive of the subjects with which they dealt. His style of composition was extremely strange; so crabbed and so quaint that it often reads more like a rough translation from the German than genuine English. Long ago, Newman said of him: "He invents new words;" and so he did to the last. Such were "Un-law," and "Un-science," and "Mish-mash." Sometimes there were archaisms such as "Aweful," and "Judgement," and "Deitate"; sometimes new and alarming compounds such as "in-Godded," "in-oned," "co-died," "trans-elemented," and "transpierced."

Yet sometimes these strange words came together—one could not say that they were arranged—in sentences of majestic dignity. The process by which those passages were evolved seemed to be as though one cast a mass of hewn stones, anyhow, on the ground; and they arranged themselves in a graceful arch or a noble pillar. But the words, whether strange or familiar, were of little account when compared with the substance and the manner. For an hour Pusey would wrestle with the argument and the theology of his subject, bringing all his masses of thought and erudition to bear on the establishment of his doctrine. Then his method and attitude would

suddenly change. He would lift his eyes from his manuscript to the Undergraduates' Gallery, and, addressing us as "My sons," would give us a quarter of an hour of directly personal appeal; searching the heart's secrets, urging repentance, and exhorting to a way of life more consistent with our Divine vocation. Then indeed we seemed to be listening to the voice of a god.

It is Septuagesima Sunday, 1875, and Pusey, in his seventy-fifth year, is preaching from S. Luke ix. 23—"If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow Me." He begins: "Does, then, our Redeeming Lord indeed speak these words to us? Is there no way out of them?" And then, after an hour's solemn argument for the absolute necessity of self-sacrifice, he turns to the Undergraduates' Gallery, and this is how he ends:—

"Shall we say to our Lord when He comes down to be our Judge, when we shall behold *Him,* Whom we, by our sins, have pierced—'True! Lord, I denied myself nothing for Thee; the times were changed, and I could not but change with them. I ate and drank, for Thou, too, didst eat and drink with publicans and sinners. I did not give to the poor; but I paid what I was compelled to the poor-rate, of the height of which I complained. I did not take in little children in Thy Name, but they were provided for; they were sent, severed indeed from father or mother, to the poor-house, to be taught or no about Thee, as might be. I did not feed Thee when

hungry; political economy forbade it; but I increased the labour-market with the manufacture of my luxuries. I did not visit Thee when sick, but the parish doctor looked in on his ill-paid rounds. I did not clothe Thee when naked; I could not afford it, the rates were so high, but there was the workhouse for Thee to go to. I did not take Thee in as a stranger; but it was provided that Thou mightest go to the Casual Ward. Had I known that it was Thou——.' And He shall say, 'Forasmuch as thou didst it not to one of the least of these, thou didst it not to Me.'

"Many of you, my sons, are provided with superfluities. You have not to stint yourselves as to the pleasures of your age. Day by day passes, I suppose, with all conveniences of life or amusement, or some self-indulgences which, though not directly sinful, are rather injurious. If our Lord was to come now, in how many do you think that you could tell Him that you had fed Him, clothed Him, supplied Him when sick? Some, I fear, could not say that they had bestowed as much on Christ as upon their dogs. . . .

"We are to-day at the vestibule of those days wherein, bearing the cross of this yearly abstinence, we are, if we are His disciples, to follow Him Who for our sakes did fast forty days and forty nights, that so, by 'continual mortifying our corrupt affections we may be buried with Him'; and through His Cross and Passion may be brought to the glory of His Resurrection.

"Three weeks hence you will plead that

fasting to Him Who for our sakes did fast forty days and forty nights, and pray Him that, after His likeness, you too 'may use such abstinence, that, your flesh being subdued to the spirit, you may ever obey His godly motions in righteousness and true holiness.' Let not your prayers be a witness against you.

"He does not put hard things upon you. He Who accepts the cup of cold water will accept petty self-denials. Self-indulgence is a hard master—not Jesus. Vice wears the body: self-denial braces it. Sin is an exacting tyrant: the service of God is perfect freedom.

"Give yourselves anew to Him, Who gave Himself for you. He grudged not for you one drop of His Heart's Blood: grudge not to Him the price of His Blood—yourselves. Think of that place around the Eternal Throne which He by that Blood has prepared individually for you. Jesus will impart to your petty cross some of the virtue of His Saving Cross. He will make any hardness sweet to you, Who is Himself all sweetness, and every pleasurable delight. He will give you His own love, and

> "'The heart that loveth knoweth well,
> What Jesus 'tis to love.'"

But, though an Oxford man must always connect his memory of Pusey with the University pulpit, it should be remembered that in the 'fifties and 'sixties he preached often, and with great effect, in London. A char-

acteristic specimen of his method when dealing with a wealthy congregation is his sermon called "Why did Dives lose his soul?" preached at All Saints', Margaret Street, on Ash Wednesday, 1865.

"There is not one word about excess, about having persons at his table notorious for their immorality ('gallantry,' the world calls it). He kept a well-appointed table, and was known for the magnificence of his entertainments. Had he lived in these days, the world would have been told the next morning: 'Dives gave a splendid entertainment at his elegant mansion in such a square, and, among the distinguished company, were such and such of the fashionable world.' And some of the younger of you, perhaps, would have wished that they had been there; and mothers would have bethought themselves how they could obtain tickets for Lady Dives' next assembly."

Then the preacher goes on to imagine the sudden death of this modern Dives, and the notices of it in the Press :—

"'We regret to announce that Dives was taken ill in the midst of a splendid and select circle, remained insensible, and died at an early hour this morning.' When people read this announcement they would have said a word or two of the sudden death of Dives, or moralized a little on the instability of human things. . . . One thing alone people would have shut their eyes to: 'Where is he now?' Our Lord lifts up the veil, and tells us, 'In

torments—tormented in this flame.' Alas, Dives, who would be of thy party now?"[1]

The common view of Pusey, even among those who were not hostile to his theology, was that he was a man so wholly withdrawn from the world that his opinion on any thing more secular than a hair shirt was not worth having. No view could be more erroneous. What he was as a scholar, let Dr. Liddon tell.

"With Dr. Pusey scholarship — the scientific knowledge of language—was even less of an acquirement than of an instinct. He had that fine perception of the vital genius of human speech, which often enabled him to dispense with the machinery of grammar and dictionary, because he could, in fact, anticipate their verdict. The author of *The Christian Year,* who was some ten years his senior, used to say that he never knew how Pindar might be translated until he heard Pusey translate him in the schools. To the ordinary classical languages, and—what fifty years ago was a rare accomplishment—a thorough familiarity with German, Dr. Pusey added, while still under thirty, an exact knowledge of Hebrew, and, as there is reason to think, a still more intimate knowledge of Arabic, with its rich vocabulary and literature. He spent from fourteen to sixteen hours a day for a great part of two years in acquiring it, partly under the guidance of Freytag, the first

[1] In connexion with this subject, the reader is referred to Pusey's Commentary on Amos vi. 6; and Micah iii. 10.

Arabic scholar in Europe; his main reason for this great expenditure of labour being the light which Arabic throws upon the cognate language of the Old Testament. The habit of constantly enlarging his intimacy with language never deserted him when he was an old man. When he was more than sixty years of age he made himself entirely master of Ethiopic. . . .

"Those critics in Germany who have been least able to agree in his general conclusions as to the Hebrew Scriptures have not been slow to express their respect for the scholarly learning by which he supported them."

We have seen in earlier chapters that he was fully conversant with agricultural life and interests, and that, as a member of the Governing Body of the University of Oxford, he proved himself an excellent man of business. In the concerns of the ordinary "world," as that word is commonly understood, whether social, political, or even commercial, he was much more at home than the common run of academic clergymen. It was probably his early contact with the best form of society which enabled him to deal such home-thrusts as these:—

"The selfishness of sin does not depend on the greater or less opportunity of sinning. There may be less of sin, because more temptation, in the selfish profusion of the millionaire than in the selfish comforts of one of moderate means. It is not the splendour of nobles, sorely as one knows that very many

forget Lazarus, sorely as one may fear for their salvation; it is not *their* hereditary adherence to the customs handed down to them from their forefathers, which, to one who is accustomed to the thought of Eternity, is so frightful in revisiting this great Babylon. It is the growth of luxuries and comforts, as indicated in the shops, the lesser equipages, the dress, the jewelry, the trinkets, the baubles, the varied suits of apparel. It is, that luxuries have become comforts, and comforts have become necessities; nay, that the Middle Class (I mean such as, I suppose, are most of us) seems to have confused necessity, luxury, comfort, in one reckless following of self-will. . . . I could scarce believe my eyes, when I saw close by, as the price of a single dress in a shop window (and in no shop of the fashionable of this world), what would furnish a meal to 7,000 poor. Apart, as I said, from all trinketry, one Christian lady was to wear as one of her manifold exterior dresses, what would have removed the gnawings of hunger of some 7,000 members of Christ!" [1]

And again:—

"The terrible part to us, are not those horrible things which one cannot name, but that there is so much of every day ruling, uncontradicted sin (such as S. Paul speaks of, as belonging to the heathen world), and which

[1] NOTE.—"In Oxford Street. The price was £60. £60 would, of course, provide 14,400 penny loaves. Hungry children before daybreak besiege a soup-kitchen, where that sum would, at twopence, provide 7,000 real meals."

is yet so common, that we should be thought harsh, fanatics, 'troublers of the city,' turners of 'the world upside down,' if we, who have to preach God's Word, were with one voice emphatically to speak, as God speaks in His Word. Conceive one, who, on the Exchange, should utter above a whisper, 'The love of money is the root of all evil'; or in a civic feast (perhaps nearer home, I know not), 'Woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation'; or in poor Belgravia, 'Love not the world: whoso loveth the world, the love of the Father is not in him'; or in any reception room in Vanity Fair, 'The friendship of the world is enmity with God'; or in any place of commerce, 'How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God'; unless, indeed, in this almost universal idolatry of wealth, any one should count himself not to have it, because his neighbour's golden idol was more colossal, more Nebuchadnezzar-like, than his own."

It is time now to turn to Pusey's opinions on subjects of less than primary importance; and first with regard to Politics. As we have seen in the earlier part of this narrative, some of Pusey's nearest kinsfolk were high Tories and some advanced Whigs. At different periods of his life, his own opinions inclined in different directions; but it would be impossible to classify him as Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative. In 1821 he was travelling in France, and keenly regretted that he had just missed the great demonstration

in the Chamber of Deputies. "I would have given worlds to have heard the plea which was made for Liberty." In the following year, he did homage to the memory of Tell at Bürglen. "In leaning over the altar, by means of which his countrymen have blended the feelings of patriotism and religion, I could not but address a prayer to our common Father for my own country, that it might long enjoy freedom unpolluted—that it might cultivate the virtues which alone merit that choicest gift a nation can receive, and without which it cannot be retained." When a young and ardent nature is thus imbued with the sacred love of freedom as a great gift from God, that love governs all its politics. So it was inevitable that Pusey should rejoice in the deliverance wrought at Navarino,[1] and in the repeal of those "disgraceful laws," the Test and Corporation Acts. He threw all his strength into the cause of Roman Catholic Emancipation; tried to save Peel from defeat at Oxford; and was then regarded as "one of the most Liberal members of the University."

Lord Grey's attack on the Irish Church in 1833, and his insolent warning to the English Church, roused Pusey to active hostility; but then again the kind of friendliness which the Tories showed to the Church pleased him as little as the open hostility of the Whigs. "I have long thought," he wrote in 1853, "that the Conservatives had the same sort of love for the Church as the monkey had for the cat,

[1] He was all through his life a strong opponent of the Turkish tyranny.

whose paw is employed. They helped the Church as long as it politically helped them."

His own profound belief in the spiritual nature and Divine prerogatives of the Church of England made him indifferent to—even suspicious of—such support as the State afforded. In 1869, impelled by anger at Dr. Temple's appointment to the Episcopate, he wrote: "I must henceforth long, and pray, and work, as I can, for the severance of Church and State." He was afraid that Disestablishment, which must come, would come too late, and that the Church would have been compromised by heretical prelates before she acquired the power of acting for herself. "I think," he said, "that Churchmen must *long* to be freed, at any cost, from the iron hand of the State. I will add plainly, that, while it is not our habit to be mixed up in political meetings or measures, I think it is our duty to pray Him in Whose hands events are, to deliver us from this enthralment."

Two years later, on the occasion of the Purchas Judgment, he wrote to Dr. Liddon:—"Chains are not the less galling because they are of gold, nor poison the less deadly because the pill is coated in silver." Of course, he did not desire Disendowment; but he felt that the advantages of Endowment may easily be purchased at too heavy a cost. "I cannot contend about money as a matter of principle. Riches were never the strength of the Church. Never was she stronger than when Peter said, '*Silver and gold have I none.*'"[1]

[1] *The Guardian*, August 4, 1868.

The limits of space forbid to go on quoting from Pusey's sermons; but here I must insert two specimens of his letter-writing to friends in sorrow. A good letter of condolence is in truth a sermon, and a rare one. The first was addressed in 1841 to a friend of his own age, who had lost his wife :—

"MY DEAR BROTHER IN SORROW,

"You have often taught that 'through much tribulation we must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven'; you have often preached the Cross of Christ; I pray God to give you grace to abide tranquilly under its shadow: dark though it be, He can make it gladder than any light; He can make it a joy to us to go on our way weeping, if so be for this night of heaviness we may the more look and hope for the joy which cometh in the morning which has no ending.

"Fear not, my dear friend, to sorrow; we cannot sorrow too much, so that it be a resigned sorrow: it would not heal if it did not wound deeply; there would be no resignation if it were not grievous to be borne; it is the penalty of sin to us, though to them the gate of Paradise; we may sorrow, so that we offer up all—our sorrows, our anticipations, our past—to Him."

The second was written in 1874 to an Undergraduate, whose mother had just been attacked by fatal illness :—

"To her it must be in one sense sudden; for even here she was looking that Sir W. Gull should fix her residence for the winter. In

another it is not sudden. For during all these years in which I have known her, there has been no season in which her inner life was not with God, and in which she would not at once have gladly come, had He called. . . .

"It is (as dear John Keble said to me) 'a different world, in which a mother is not,' and it is early for you to have her only in Paradise. God would thereby bind you the more there, where those, through whom you had your being here, are. *Sursum corda, sursum corda* !"

From first to last, Pusey was an indefatigable letter-writer, and a great part of his ministry to individual souls was performed by correspondence. Here are some letters to an Undergraduate at Cambridge, perplexed about the course of duty :—

"MY DEAR SON IN C. J.,

"To a plain man the Church, in which God placed him, would be his guide. The Creeds contain the main body of the Faith. On the Sacraments, the Prayer Book, taken simply, will teach him the truth. According to the old saying, *Lex supplicandi, lex credendi.* The Creeds are the teaching of the whole Church and are, as such, infallible teaching.

"This is, I think, enough for the present. The *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus* is the rule which our Divines have had before them, which the faith, as taught by the Church of England, bears out, and which the recent decrees as to the Immaculate Conception

and the Infallibility, and the Modern Roman system as a whole do not.

"When you know more of Christian antiquity you will see this.

"But what you have, at present, to do is practical. Perhaps you inherit a liking for controversy. Anyhow, you have it. Set yourself steadily, by God's grace, to simple duties, to your mother, *e.g.*, when at home. . . . The Fifth Commandment is the first Commandment with promise, and be very careful of it. This is one only of many practical duties; but bind yourself to them; seek to please God day by day in them; to extirpate some fault, and God, day by day, will lead you on

'e'en to His Throne,
The seat of joys which never end.'

"God bless you.

"In Him, your every affectionate father,
"E. B. P."

"In the time of Advent, remember daily (would it might be hourly) the Day of Judgement, Heaven and Hell and its eternal severance from God and all good."

"I long for you to have a quiet time, thinking how you may best become what should please God. They are not great things which are needed. In little things, little self-denials, little acts of conformity to the Will of God, daily longing to shake off some of our unlikeness, some little imitation of our Dear Lord, we are conformed to the Image in which

God has re-created us, and are prepared to behold His Ever-blessed Presence in joy."

Pusey knew not only how to exhort and encourage; he knew how to reprove. Here is an excellent admonition to a spiritual daughter :—

"The centre of your faults is your self-conceit. There is some absurd conceit about being a lady. People's estimate varies. I was walking in rather a broad alley in London, and asked some question about my way. The person whom I asked directed my attention to one standing behind a greengrocer's stall. 'If you ask that lady, she will tell you.' They are just those on the lower verge who think of it. A popular writer gave to one of his characters the name of 'Mrs. Proudie.' She was supposed to be a Bishop's wife. I hope that there are not many 'Mrs. Proudies' among our Bishops' wives. I never met with one. But it would be good for you to remember the name of 'Mrs. Proudie,' and not be a 'Miss Proudie'; for Religious, even if they had rank, forget it. Ladies are only known by their more delicate-shaped hands and refinedness of manners. I know not how it is that your manners are so unrefined. I suppose that it is because you think so much of yourself. Have you never heard from your brothers, when school-boys, the word 'bumptious?' It is a school-boy term. It expresses the character of one who thinks much of some quality or circumstances about himself or herself (it might be some natural or accidental advantage as they think it), and who was always showing it in his

or her manner, generally ludicrous, always overbearing. This exactly expresses what you are. You used to be so to me. Do you remember contradicting every thing which I said, until at last I required you to listen and contradict no more? "

What manner of man was Pusey? His outward appearance in early manhood we have seen described in a former chapter. What he was like at the period when the present writer remembers him is well set forth in the words of a lady who, in 1872, consulted him about some perplexities of faith :—

" I found a short, stout gentleman, dressed in a cassock, looking like a comfortable monk; but keen eyes, steadfastly gazing into mine, told of the force and subtlety enshrined in the fine expressive head." The result of the interview was that the enquiring lady found Pusey " tender and pitiful to the sinner, who was repentant, humble, submissive; but iron to the doubter or the heretic."

Five years later, the following description was given in a weekly journal :—

" The two most remarkable features about Dr. Pusey are his eyes and mouth. The latter is mobile with every kind of expression; the former are a deep blue, perfectly clear, free from the aqueous film of age, varying, as the mouth does, with the thought which animates the mind or proceeds in language from the lips. Never could there be a more speaking face, never a face into which there was concentrated more of the blended sentiments or capacities of earnest-

ness, humour, solemn intensity, subtle satire. It is impossible not to be impressed by the perfect breeding, the true patrician ease, the masterly *savoir faire,* which make up Dr. Pusey's manner. He has about him that indefinable air of superiority which stamps him at once as a man born to be what he has been, a leader of men; and it is easy still to recognize the presence and possession of those qualities which made Newman fifty years ago quote him as 'the great'—ὁ μέγας. The general aspect of his face is one of keenness and benevolence combined. It is the face of a man whom you could not mistake to be other than both good and great."

At least from 1839 onwards, the habit of Pusey's life was that of a student, an ascetic, and a recluse. He "toiled" even more "terribly" than before, constantly working for twelve or fifteen hours out of the twenty-four, and frequently sitting up all night to accomplish some task which involved writing against time. As long as his health permitted, he always attended the two daily services in the Cathedral. For many years he celebrated the Holy Communion, at an Altar in his own house, every morning at four o'clock, but in his later years he restricted this practice to Sundays and Saints' Days. His whole day was spent in literary or professorial work, business connected with the Universities, or private intercourse with those who sought his counsel. In this connection, a personal reminiscence, kindly contributed by a friend, will not be out of place:—

"One episode made a great impression on

me, of Dr. Pusey's inexhaustible patience and love for the insignificant. I was an Undergraduate at the time, and went to see him in great trouble of mind. He talked to me from 11 a.m. to 1.15 p.m. He gave me a resumé of the life of the Church, took me all over the history of the American Episcopal Church, and showed me how Episcopal Communions always kept themselves pure by reference to primitive tradition, while Sects always sought to purify themselves by making new bodies. During this long talk, the servant came in and said to Dr. P., 'The fly is here, sir, to take you to the station.' The Doctor simply turned round and said, in his slow and gentle voice, 'Oh! find me another train, will you?' I remember what I thought and felt: it seemed to me inconceivable that he should upset his plans simply to try and help me and teach me, and deliver me from the doubt and misery in which I was. And, after saying that to the servant, he turned round to me and went on with his instruction. These are not his exact words, but this was a favourite lesson—'God does not satisfy mere curiosity, but He will always teach us how to *live* if we *want* to know.'"

Pusey had always practised the strictest self-discipline. He fasted with the utmost rigour as long as the doctors allowed it, and his meals were scrupulously plain.[1] But, though plain, they were not dull. The chief

[1] The Rev. W. Tuckwell, describing Pusey's life in the early 'fifties, says that his Friday dinner was one poached egg on spinach, with one glass of port wine.

joy of his last twenty years was the close companionship of his devoted friend and disciple, Dr. Liddon, who resided in Christ Church continuously from 1862. One who was then an Undergraduate writes :—" It was twilight, and I was sitting with Dr. Pusey in his study at Christ Church, when Liddon, who was coming to dine with him, came softly into the room. I have never forgotten the warmth and love with which Dr. Pusey went forward to meet him." Dr. Pusey's daughter favours me with this touch of reminiscence :—" Dr. Liddon used to dine with us on Fridays, so as to avoid the Hall dinner; and then, as soon as the servant had left the room, my father would, in the course of a quiet meal, talk himself on all subjects of the day, Dr. Liddon drinking in every word he said. You can imagine what the enjoyment of these quiet dinners was."

I am enabled to close my narrative with a graphic account of Pusey in his capacity as spiritual guide, which has been supplied to me by a friend who bears a name long honoured in the Church of England :—

" I first knew Dr. Pusey when I was an Undergraduate at Oxford in the October Term of 1868, and for ten years after that I lived in close spiritual intimacy with one who was to me in the fullest sense of the phrase, a Father in God. My acquaintance began in this way. As an Undergraduate, it was part of my duty to attend the University Sermons, and it was owing to a sermon preached by Bishop Hamilton of Salisbury, in which he strongly urged his Undergraduate hearers to

use Confession both as a safeguard against sin and a means of spiritual growth, that I made up my mind with much trepidation and after a severe mental struggle, to write to Dr. Pusey and ask for his help. Within an hour or two I received a short letter together with a small tract entitled, I think, *Hints to those about to make a first Confession.* I was to go to him at 9 o'clock in the evening as soon as I had prepared myself. How well I remember that evening, as I paced up and down 'Tom Quad,' waiting for the Curfew to ring, and how every stroke of the great bell seemed to bring me nearer to my doom. At length, when the 101 strokes were completed, and before the last stroke had died away, I timidly rang the bell of the well-known house now occupied by Dr. Driver. When the door was opened I timidly asked if I might see Dr. Pusey, as I had come by appointment. The answer was, 'The Doctor is disengaged and is expecting you.' I was then ushered into the study. At first, in the dimly-lighted room I thought I was alone. A reading lamp was burning on a small table covered with books and papers, before a fire. As I advanced I stumbled over a huge tome lying on the floor, and had hardly recovered myself when I saw a little old man emerging from the further corner of the room in a skull cap. His figure was bent: he wore a white neck-cloth and a swallow-tail coat, and I noticed that his clothes were of shabby black cloth. As he came towards me I observed a certain stateliness in his walk: he seemed to grip the floor with a firm tread. He took my hand with the

same firmness and decision that I had noticed in his walk, and in that hand-shake, which I shall never forget, he seemed to take possession of me body and soul. He at once asked me if I would prefer to have a talk before or after my Confession. I asked to have the talk first, as it might help me in the difficult duty that lay before me. I remember how wonderfully in that preliminary talk he seemed to read my inmost thoughts. All my difficulties were already understood without my having to state them. I had simply to listen while he told me more about myself than I could have told him. As he fixed his eyes upon me, I felt that he was reading my very soul. I expressed some astonishment at his intuition into my spiritual state, and he replied, 'No one with even a slight knowledge of physiognomy could doubt that your chief temptation is to think too well of yourself.' As I looked back over the thirty-eight years that I have since passed through I cannot be too thankful for that first interview and for the wonderful light of self-knowledge that came to me then for the first time.

"After that first interview I placed myself definitely under Dr. Pusey's spiritual guidance, and what was begun then was continued without intermission for ten years. During the last three years of his life his increasing deafness and infirmities made it very difficult for him to receive Confessions or to carry on conversation except through writing.

"Many of Dr. Pusey's sayings, though I never wrote them down, have remained indelibly impressed on my memory, and have been of the

utmost service to me in forming my own convictions and in teaching others.

"With regard to Confession, he told me that he did not as a rule advocate frequent confession, as people did not bring enough penitence—and without penitence neither Confession nor Absolution were of any avail. But, where there was penitence, a rule of Confession was most helpful. He held that the clergy made a mistake in urging Confession as a practice until they had had explained the doctrine of Absolution. If people believed in the *doctrine* they would adopt the *practice*. Surely this is the true theological position, as all Christian duty presupposes the doctrine on which it rests, and it is probably the neglect of this principle which has led people in so many cases, as we priests know, to adopt the practice of Confession as an anodyne rather than as a discipline, and therefore to slur over the more painful parts of their Confessions, and make imperfect and partial Confessions.

"Dr. Pusey used often to speak to me of the terrible mischief of idle gossip, and the uncharitableness which was so characteristic of our ordinary social intercourse. He told me that in the early days of the Tractarian Movement it was singularly free from any taint of bitterness, but afterwards, when it became more widespread, an element of party spirit was imported into it which did more to hinder its progress than any amount of opposition from without. When he was talking to me in this strain, on one occasion I ventured to say, 'But sometimes it is almost a duty to speak of the faults of

others.' He replied, 'Ah! the truth comes out wonderfully in your words. *Almost* but not *altogether* a duty.' He went on to say, 'If people before speaking about others would ask themselves *not* "May I say this?" but "Is it a positive *duty* to say it?" it would make a great difference to their conversation, and prevent an immense amount of mischief.'

"On another occasion I was talking to him about the difficulties of sustained prayer. He acknowledged that it was so; but if only we were faithful to our rule of prayer, in course of time the rule would form in us the habit, and when the habit was formed it became easy and natural to fulfil the Apostolic precept of 'Pray without ceasing.' He said in his own case, in every pause of conversation, or when changing his position, or in walking in the street, his thoughts naturally formed themselves into prayer. I then asked him, knowing that he had spent many years in praying for the conversion of sinners, whether he had ever seen any remarkable instances of his prayers being answered. After a pause, he said, with indescribable solemnity, 'I have always observed that Almighty God gives them another chance.'

"He often spoke to me of the awful sin of wasting time, and remarked that, if educated people would only spend as much time in reading the Fathers as they did in reading the *Times*, it would make a wonderful difference to their religious life and save them from much of that weariness which comes from idleness. Time only becomes a burden when it is wasted.

"I once asked him whether 'Invocation of

Saints' was allowable in the Church of England. He replied that to a certain extent it might be defended as the outcome of pious sentiment, but nevertheless he thought it great waste of time, which might be much better employed in direct prayer to God. He went on to say that the Fathers held that it was quite doubtful whether the Saints could hear us, but on the other hand, to ask Almighty God for the prayers of the Saints was a legitimate practice and one that was sanctioned by the early Church.[1]

"He often recommended the study of Hebrew, especially for its devotional uses. It expresses so much more in fewer words than any other language, and he was fond of quoting as an instance of this the opening words of Psalm lxiii. 'O God, Thou art my God: early will I seek Thee'—eleven words, which in Hebrew are expressed, with even fuller meaning, in *three* words. On one occasion he was lecturing on this Psalm, and in commenting on the words 'Thy loving-kindness is better than the life itself' he was overcome with emotion and, bursting into tears, was unable to continue his lecture.

"I give the foregoing as specimens of his conversation, but no words can describe the influence of his character upon those who came into close personal contact with him. There is one word which seems to account for that influence more than any other—the word *intensity*. It was the intense earnestness and sincerity, and the thoroughness of every thing that he did,

[1] But see Appendix E.

which made a remarkable impression upon me. There was a note of absolute certainty in the advice which he gave which made it inevitable. He was, in fact, just the sort of spiritual guide that a young man at a critical period of his life most needs. I invariably came away from these conferences filled with a new enthusiasm, with new convictions and heightened ideals, and more then ever resolved to devote myself to the service of God.

"As I look forward to meeting him in another world, two thoughts occur to me. First, how far short of the high standard that he set before me I have come; and secondly, how much more short of it I should have fallen if I had never known him."

After transcribing this record of personal experience, I lay down my pen, as I took it up, with an humiliating sense of my own unfitness, not only to criticize, but even to chronicle, this august and unique life. It combined, to my thinking, all the elements of moral grandeur—an absolute and calculated devotion to a sacred cause; a child-like simplicity; and a courage which grew more buoyant as the battle thickened. Its results are written in that Book of Record which lies before the Throne of God.

APPENDIX A.

THE Protest against the Judgment in Archdeacon Denison's Case, signed by Pusey in 1856:

"We, the undersigned, priests of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church, called by God's providence to minister in the Province of Canterbury according to the Book of Common Prayer, do hereby, in the presence of Almighty God, and in humble conformity with the tenor of our ordination vows, as we understand them, make known and declare as follows:—

"(1) We believe (in the words used in the Book of Homilies) that we 'receive the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the form of bread and wine'; and with Bishop Cosin, 'that upon the words of consecration, the Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially present, and so exhibited and given to all that receive it; and all this, not after a physical and sensual, but after an heavenly and incomprehensible manner'; of which statement Bishop Cosin says, 'it is confessed by all divines.'

"(2) We believe in the words of Bishop Ridley, 'that the partakinge of Christ's Bodie and of His Bloude unto the faithfull and godlie, is the partakinge and fellowship of life and of

immortalitie. And, again, of the bad and ungodlie receivers, S. Paul plainlie saieth thus: "He that eateth of this breade and drinketh of this cuppe unworthilie, he is guiltie of the Bodie and Bloude of the Lord." He that eateth and drinketh unworthilie, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he esteemeth not the Lord's Bodie; that is, he receiveth not the Lord's Bodie with the honoure whiche is due unto Hym.' Or with Bishop Poynet, 'that the Eucharist, so far as appertains to the nature of the Sacrament, is truly the Body and Blood of Christ, is a truly divine and holy thing, even when it is taken by the unworthy; while, however, they are not partakers of its grace and holiness, but eat and drink their own death and condemnation.'

"(3) We hold with Bishop Andrewes, 'that Christ Himself, the inward part of the Sacrament, in and with the Sacrament, apart from and without the Sacrament, wheresoever He is, is to be worshipped.' With whom agrees Archbishop Bramhall: 'The Sacrament is to be adored, says the Council of Trent, that is (formally) "the Body and Blood of Christ," say some of your authors; we say the same: "the Sacrament," that is, "the species of bread and wine," say others—that we deny.'

"We, therefore, being convinced:—

"1. That the doctrine of the Real Presence of 'the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ under the form of bread and wine' has been uniformly accepted by General Councils, as it is also embodied in our own formularies;

"2. That the interpretation of Scripture

most commonly held in the Church has been, that the wicked, although they can 'in no wise be partakers of Christ,' nor 'spiritually eat His Flesh and drink His Blood,' yet do in the Sacrament not only take, but eat and drink unworthily to their own condemnation the Body and Blood of Christ which they do not discern;

"3. That the practice of worshipping Christ then and there especially present, after consecration and before communicating, has been common throughout the Church. And, moreover, that the Thirty-nine Articles were intended to be, and are, in harmony with the faith and teaching of the ancient undivided Church;

"Do hereby protest earnestly against so much of the opinion of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the case of Ditcher *v.* Denison, as implies, directly or indirectly, that such statements as we have cited above are repugnant to the doctrine of the Thirty-nine Articles."

APPENDIX B.

THE Declaration on Eucharistic Belief and Worship signed by Pusey in 1867 :

"Whereas, at this present time, imputations of disloyalty to the Church of England are current, to the discredit of those who have been, some of them for many years, inculcating and defending the Doctrines of the Real Objective Presence, of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and of the Adoration of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament; and whereas, by reason of these imputations, the minds of many are troubled: We therefore, the undersigned, exercising the office of the Priesthood within the Church of England, beg respectfully to state what we believe to be the mind of our Lord, touching the said doctrines, as expressed in Holy Scripture, and as received by the Church of England in conformity with the teaching of the Catholic Church in those ages to which the Church of England directs as 'most pure and uncorrupt,' and of 'the old godly doctors,' to whom she has in many ways referred us—declaring hereby both what we repudiate and what we believe, touching the said doctrines.

"(1) We repudiate the opinion of a 'Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh

and Blood,' that is to say, of the Presence of His Body and Blood as They 'are in Heaven'; and the conception of the mode of His Presence, which implies the physical change of the natural substances of the bread and wine, commonly called 'Transubstantiation.'

"We believe that, in the Holy Eucharist, by virtue of the Consecration, through the power of the Holy Ghost, the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, 'the inward part, or Thing signified,' are Present really and truly, but Spiritually and ineffably, under 'the outward visible part or sign,' or 'form of Bread and Wine.'

"(2) We repudiate the notion of any fresh Sacrifice, or any view of the Eucharistic Sacrificial offering as of something apart from the One All-sufficient Sacrifice and Oblation on the Cross, Which alone 'is that perfect Redemption, Propitiation, and Satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual' and which alone is 'meritorious.'

"We believe that, as in Heaven, Christ, our great High Priest, ever offers Himself before the eternal Father, pleading by His Presence His Sacrifice of Himself once offered on the Cross; so on earth, in the Holy Eucharist, that same Body, once for all sacrificed for us, and that same Blood, once for all shed for us, Sacramentally Present, are offered and pleaded before the Father by the priest, as our Lord ordained to be done in remembrance of Himself, when He instituted the Blessed Sacrament of His Body and Blood.

"(3) We repudiate all 'adoration' of 'the

Sacramental Bread and Wine,' which would be 'idolatry'; regarding them with the reverence due to them because of their Sacramental relation to the Body and Blood of our Lord; we repudiate also all adoration of 'a Corporal Presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood,' that is to say, of the Presence of His Body and Blood as 'they are in Heaven.'

"We believe that Christ Himself, really and truly, but spiritually and ineffably, Present in the Sacrament, is therein to be adored.

"Furthermore, in so far as any of the undersigned, repudiating and believing as herein-before stated, have used, in whatever degree, a Ritual beyond what had become common in our Churches, we desire to state, that we have done so, not as wishing to introduce a system of worship foreign to the Church of England, but as believing that in so doing, we act in harmony with the principles and law of the Church of England, and as using that liberty which has, in such matters, always been allowed to her Clergy and People; having at heart the promotion of the glory of God in the due and reverent celebration of the Holy Eucharist, as the central act of Divine Worship."

APPENDIX C.

THE Declaration on Confession and Absolution, drawn and signed by Pusey in 1873 :

"We, the undersigned, priests of the Church of England, considering that serious misapprehensions as to the teaching of the Church of England on the subject of Confession and Absolution are widely prevalent, and that these misapprehensions lead to serious evils, hereby declare, for the truth's sake and in the fear of God, what we hold and teach on the subject, with special reference to the points which have been brought under discussion.

"(1) We believe and profess that Almighty God has promised forgiveness of sins, through the Precious Blood of Jesus Christ, to all who turn to Him, with true sorrow for sin, out of unfeigned and sincere love to Him, with lively faith in Jesus Christ, and with full purpose of amendment of life.

"(2) We also believe and profess that our Lord Jesus Christ has instituted in His Church a special means for the remission of sin after Baptism, and for the relief of consciences, which special means the Church of England retains and administers as part of her Catholic heritage.

"(3) We affirm that—to use the language

of the Homily—'Absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin,' although, the Homily adds, 'by the express word of the New Testament it hath not this promise annexed and tied to the visible sign, which is imposition of hands,' and 'therefore,' it says, 'Absolution is no such Sacrament as Baptism and the Communion are.' We hold it to be clearly impossible that the Church of England in Art. XXV can have meant to disparage the ministry of Absolution any more than she can have meant to disparage the rites of Confirmation and Ordination, which she solemnly administers. We believe that God, through Absolution, confers an inward spiritual grace and the authoritative assurance of His forgiveness on those who receive it with faith and repentance, as in Confirmation and Ordination He confers grace on those who rightly receive the same.

"(4) In our Ordination, as priests of the Church of England, the words of our Lord to His Apostles—'Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and whose soever sins ye retain they are retained'—were applied to us individually. Thus it appears that the Church of England considers this commission to be not a temporary endowment of the Apostles, but a gift lasting to the end of time. It was said to each of us, 'Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands'; and then followed the words, 'Whose

sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.'

"(5) We are not here concerned with the two forms of Absolution which the priest is directed to pronounce after the general confession of sins in the Morning and Evening Prayer and in the Communion Service. The only form of words provided for us in the Book of Common Prayer for applying the absolving power to individual souls runs thus: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences; and by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' Upon this we remark, first, that in these words forgiveness of sins is ascribed to our Lord Jesus Christ, yet that the priest, acting by a delegated authority and as an instrument, does through these words convey the absolving grace; and, secondly, that the absolution from sins cannot be understood to be the removal of any censures of the Church, because (*a*) the sins from which the penitent is absolved are presupposed to be sins known previously to himself and God only; (*b*) the words of the Latin form relating to those censures are omitted in our English form; and (*c*) the release from excommunication is in Art. XXXIII reserved to 'a Judge that hath authority thereunto.'

"(6) This provision, moreover, shows that the Church of England, when speaking of 'the benefit of absolution,' and empowering

her priests to absolve, means them to use a definite form of absolution, and does not merely contemplate a general reference to the promises of the Gospel.

"(7) In the Service for 'the Visitation of the Sick' the Church of England orders that the sick man shall even 'be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter.' When the Church requires that the sick man should, in such case, be moved to make a special confession of his sins, we cannot suppose her thereby to rule that her members are bound to defer to a death-bed (which they may never see) what they know to be good for their souls. We observe that the words 'be moved to' were added in 1661, and that, therefore, at the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer, the Church of England affirmed the duty of exhorting to confession in certain cases more strongly than at the date of the Reformation, probably because the practice had fallen into abeyance during the Great Rebellion.

"(8) The Church of England also, holding it 'requisite that no man should come to the Holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience,' commands the minister to bid 'any' one who 'cannot quiet his own conscience herein' to come to him, or 'to some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word, and open his grief, that by the ministry of God's Holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with,' and therefore, as distinct from, 'ghostly counsel and advice'; and since she

directs that this invitation should be repeated in giving warning of Holy Communion, and Holy Communion is constantly offered to all, it follows that the use of Confession may be, at least in some cases, of not unfrequent occurrence.

"(9) We believe that the Church left it to the consciences of individuals, according to their sense of their needs, to decide whether they would confess or not, as expressed in that charitable exhortation of the first English Prayer Book, 'requiring such as shall be satisfied with a general confession not to be offended with them that do use, to their further satisfying, the auricular and secret confession to the priest; nor those also which think needful and convenient, for the quietness of their own consciences, particularly to open their sins to the priest, to be offended with them that are satisfied with their humble confession to God, and the general confession to the Church, but in all things to follow and keep the rule of charity; and every man to be satisfied with his own conscience, not judgeing other men's minds or consciences; whereas he hath no warrant of God's Word to the same.' And although this passage was omitted in the second Prayer Book, yet that its principle was not repudiated may be gathered from the 'Act for the Uniformity of Service' (1552), which, while authorizing the second Prayer Book, asserts the former book to be 'agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church.'

"(10) We would further observe that the Church of England has nowhere limited the

occasions upon which her priests should exercise the office which she commits to them at their ordination; and that to command her priests in two of her offices to hear confessions, if made, cannot be construed negatively into a command not to receive confessions on any other occasions. But, in fact (see above, No. 7, 8), the two occasions specified do practically comprise the whole of the adult life. A succession of Divines of great repute in the Church of England, from the very time when the English Prayer Book was framed, speak highly of confession, without limiting the occasions upon which, or the frequency with which, it should be used; and the 113th Canon, framed in the Convocation of 1603, recognized Confession as a then existing practice, in that it decreed, under the severest penalties, that 'if any man confess his secret and hidden sins to the minister for the unburdening of his conscience, and to receive spiritual consolation and ease of mind from him . . . the said minister . . . do not at any time reveal and make known to any person whatsoever any crime or offence so committed to his trust and secrecy (except they be such crimes as by the laws of this realm his own life may be called into question for concealing the same).'

"(11) While, then, we hold that the formularies of the Church of England do not authorize any priest to teach that private confession is a condition indispensable to the forgiveness of sin after Baptism, and that the Church of England does not justify any parish priest in requiring private confession as a con-

dition of receiving Holy Communion, we also hold that all who, under the circumstances above stated, claim the privilege of private confession, are entitled to it, and that the clergy are directed, under certain circumstances, to 'move' persons to such confession. In insisting on this as the plain meaning of the authorized language of the Church of England, we believe ourselves to be discharging our duty as her faithful ministers."

APPENDIX D.

PUSEY'S judgment on Fasting Communion is worth recording :

"I think the subject of fasting Communion is pressed very unduly upon people's consciences by some, so as to set an ancient custom of the Church against our Lord's command, in some cases.

"No one could doubt that early and fasting Communion is the most devotional; the poor feel this. The question arises when any who do not feel themselves sick enough to ask habitually for sick Communion at an early hour, and yet it is impossible for them to go out without manifest risk of health or life; or (as is often the case in this country) Holy Communion could only be had at a very late hour.

"I have had letters asking me whether the rule of fasting Communion was so absolute, that a person must give up Holy Communion for months together; or from clergy, whether, if they have to celebrate late, they must give up their Cure. I have been asked this year by the Chaplain of a Religious House (with which I am not connected). It has become a great practical difficulty.

"Those who preach or teach the *absolute*

duty of fasting Communion, generally preach or teach (as far as they are aware) to those who can communicate early, or where there is early Communion close by. They have no idea of the practical difficulty. It is sewing new cloth on old garments. Mid-day Communions used to be the rule among us. The early Communions of late years almost date from the revival of about 1833, except in towns on Great Festivals. And it is a difficulty affecting thousands of clergy throughout the country. I suppose it would, in very many cases, be a question between non-fasting Communion and death.

"When asked, I have been wont to begin at the beginning.

(*a*) There is no irreverence in non-fasting Communion else

(1) Our Lord would not have instituted it after eating the Passover, for He was Lord of both Covenants, and it was of His own Will that He so connected them.

(2) The Viaticum is everywhere administered after food, but no one would make the last Sacrament an act of irreverence.

(*b*) There is no binding law. I cannot here look over books, but I remember seeing it in the hand of a learned Roman Catholic.

(*c*) It is, then, a very early and religious custom, originating in such abuses as those at Corinth, yet not without exception. . . .

(*d*) There is no difference in principle between communicating at the Midnight Mass on Christmas night when, *e.g.*,

Christmas Day is on a Monday, and on the Sunday full meals have been allowed; and taking food at an early hour on the same day. For the division of the twenty-four hours is, of course, wholly artificial.

(*e*) In some cases, at least, there would be a direct conflict between our Lord's command and the observance of the pious custom. Whether the 'This do in remembrance of Me' be or be not addressed primarily to the priest, it must include the people. Frequent Communion is the life of the soul: prolonged abstinence would be starvation. The Easter Communion is accounted the very least which would fulfill our Lord's command.

"The rigid rule which is laid down by some now, that non-fasting Communion is to be avoided as mortal sin, would, in very many cases, clash with our Lord's command to communicate.

"I wish the young clergy were less free with the words 'mortal sin.' I cannot understand why it should be 'mortal sin.' It would not, according to their own showing, be mortal sin in their people unless they made it so. For a person cannot fall unknowingly into mortal sin. I suppose they place the mortal sin in contravening a positive law of the Church. I do not believe myself that there is any such positive law of the Church. I wonder whether they themselves think that they commit mortal sin, whenever they omit saying the Daily Services. 'Mortal sin' is, as you know, what kills the soul at one blow. Do they mean that

one who communicates non-fasting kills his soul? . . . I believe non-fasting Communion comes under our Blessed Lord's rule—'I will have mercy and not sacrifice,' and I feel sure that, if He were here now, He would dispense with the custom Himself in many cases; as of the weakly. I am certain that He would rather they communicated non-fasting than were starved.

"Fasting Communion is, I believe, a pious custom to be aimed at and commended, not one to be enjoined under penalty of mortal sin. This is bewildering to me, and would, I should think, confuse in people's minds the thought of sin altogether.

"I need not say that we old Tractarians communicated and communicate fasting, but we cannot lay the burden on the shoulders of the weak or sickly." — *Spiritual Letters* (Edition 1901), pp. 252-5.

APPENDIX E.

THE following note has been supplied by a friend:

"In order to understand Dr. Pusey's attitude towards the practice of Invocation, it is necessary to read some words in his first Eirenicon (1865), page 101. After quoting the decrees of the Council of Trent, together with the Catechism of the Council, Dr. Pusey says—'Now, were this all, the difficulty never could have arisen. The mere "ora pro nobis," *so explained,* could not have led any to stop short in the Saints, nor have called forth any protest, out of zeal for God's honour.' (See also pp. 108, 109, of the same book.) Again, Dr. Pusey expressed his deliberate approval of the interpretation of the Articles given in Tract XC in his 'Historical Preface' to the reprint of Tract XC, 1865. It is interesting also to notice Dr. Pusey's share in Bishop Forbes' *Commentary on the XXXIX Articles* published in 1867, 'Pusey revised the Bishop's work throughout, correcting it minutely. . . . He supplied almost the whole of the passages which, under head of Article XXII, deal with the subject of Purgatory and the Invocation of Saints.' [Life, iv, 146.] Perhaps, though

hesitating to recommend the practice of direct Invocation, Dr. Pusey's view of its lawfulness may be summarized in the words of Bishop William Forbes which form the conclusion of the Article in the Bishop of Brechin's Commentary :—'Let God alone be religiously adored; let Him alone be prayed to through Christ, Who, truly and properly speaking, is the sole and only Mediator between God and man. Let not that most ancient custom, common in the universal Church, as well Greek as Latin, of addressing angels and saints in the way we have said, be condemned or rejected, as impious, or as vain and foolish. Let foul abuses and superstitions which have crept in be taken away, and so shall peace hereafter be easily formed and ratified between the parties. Which, may the God of peace and all holy concord, vouchsafe to grant for the sake of His Only-Begotten Son.' ''—Forbes, *Consid. Mod.*, ii, 513.

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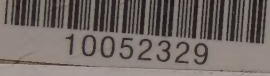
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